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THE Administration has succeeded in obtaining from Germany a sufficiently complete acknowledgment of the validity of the American grievance in the case of the Arabic and a satisfactory promise of reparation. The practical failure of the submarine blockade and the increasingly critical character of the political and military situation in the Balkans has apparently persuaded the German government that the submarine campaign in so far as it had to be conducted at the expense of international law and common humanity is costing more than it is worth. We trust that President Wilson will pursue his advantage and reach a similarly satisfactory conclusion of the more serious controversy over the sinking of the Lusitania. The apologies and defences which the German government has officially made for that act are wholly inadmissible. The barbarous practice of which it was an illustration has already been disavowed. There needs to be added an equally comprehensive promise of reparation. If President Wilson can obtain this further concession and can clear up certain remaining ambiguities in the German attitude towards the law of visit and search, he will have checked a peculiarly dangerous and malevolent assault upon the legal foundation of all commercial intercourse on the high seas during war. At a time when only too many of his fellow-countrymen were willing to duck or to compromise he stood firm, and by standing firm he has earned the fullest credit for the satisfactory result. He has good reason to stand equally firm with England. Now that Germany has yielded so much, the serious grievances of the United States and other neutral trading nations against Great Britain need to be not less but more vigorously asserted.

ADVOCATES of "preparedness" are not advancing their cause by proposing to meet the contemplated increase in expenditures through an issue of bonds. There has always been great popular opposition to the increase of national debt in time of peace. Everyone will recall the unfavorable effect on public opinion produced by the loans negotiated under the second Cleveland administration, necessary as those loans were for the maintenance of the monetary standard. The increase in the public debt placed an effective weapon in the hands of the enemies of sound money. A bond issue for military and naval purposes would confirm a large section of the population in the view that once we enter upon a policy of increased armament we shall not know when to stop. If we borrow one hundred millions for such a purpose now, we shall be tempted to repeat the process next year and the one after. Military and naval expenditures are recurrent, with a powerful upward tendency, and it is a sound instinct that demands that they be met out of current revenue, except in case of emergencies far graver than the present. Couple the proposition of military and naval expansion with a plan for increasing the income tax, and much of the opposition of the West and South will disappear. It will be recognized that there exists an automatic check upon excessive expenditures in the disinclina-

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tion of the most influential body of taxpayers to see their burdens increased.

THE Armenian massacre raises an important question for those who are committed to the dogma that all governments are sovereign and that intervention is never justified. According to this theory anything the Turks may do to the Armenians is a purely domestic affair about which the rest of us have no right to meddle. It is of course an impossible doctrine. The plight of the Armenians is a concern of the whole world, and if civilization were not so busily engaged in cutting its own throat Europe would have brought the Turks to their senses long ago. The situation is one in which international action would be highly desirable, in which the comparatively civilized powers could learn to coöperate in behalf of the world order. By her conduct Turkey shows herself to be an international "problem," though at the moment no international society exists which is capable of dealing with her. The tortured Armenians are a reminder of what a price the makers of this war are asking us to pay. By embroiling the western world in what is essentially a civil war they have let loose anarchy in all the ends of the earth.

THE most effective enemies of any important cause usually consist of its most ardent and reckless friends. The Navy League of the United States has recently announced its official program. It advocates a policy of naval construction "covering the next five years that will provide a navy capable of meeting any possible force from across the seas." A not impossible force from across the seas would be a squadron approximately as large as the British navy. The program of the League means, if it means anything, that the United States should build a fleet as large as that of Great Britain, something that even Germany has never tried to do. The chief agitators for preparedness are still wholly unprepared to state the object or define the limits of a preparedness policy. If they regard Great Britain as a possible enemy let them say so frankly and state their reasons. If they regard Great Britain as a trustworthy friend let them drop vague and meaningless spluttering about "any possible force from across the seas."

EDGAR M. CULLEN, former Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, is denouncing the new constitution proposed for that state, because of a sin of omission. The convention failed to insert an additional provision in the bill of rights, which would prevent any military tribunal from exercising jurisdiction over a civilian as long as the regularly constituted courts are open to administer justice. Mr. Cullen consequently advises his fellow-citizens to vote against the whole constitution, in spite of the fact that no matter whether the new instrument is accepted or defeated, the civilian will remain equally unprotected in the fundamental law against possible oppression by military tribunals. In either case the friends of the amendment can secure its adoption by precisely the same means—that is, by persuading two consecutive legislatures to submit it to popular vote; but Mr. Cullen considers it irrelevant to insist on such an obvious consideration. The people of the state must be condemned indefinitely to a constitution which encourages machine rule, legislative irresponsibility and administrative inefficiency, because the convention failed to include a provision, not contained in the existing constitution, which can just as well be inserted later. Could there be a more perfect example of the overwhelming importance which a legalistic mind attaches to negations?

IN an amiably confused and courteously illogical statement, Dr. J. William White comes to the defense of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, who a few months ago expelled Dr. Scott Nearing without the formality of an explanation. Dr. White's statement is manly, frank and ingenuous, but it will be of small comfort to the perturbed Trustees, who love the ways of silence, and know how not to present a case when they have none to present. The truth of the matter seems to be that while Dr. White believes somewhat inconsistently in many of Nearing's uncomfortable doctrines, the Trustees do not believe in them, and hating what Nearing says, learn to hate also the way in which he says it. But the Trustees, without being self-analysts, should surely know that the manner will always be bad if the matter is objectionable. Perhaps Dr. Nearing was not always dignified in the presentation of his theories, which, by the way, are not very new and not very terrifying. Nor did Martin Luther observe the proprieties when he nailed his theses on the church door. Dr. White seeks to establish the broad toleration of the Trustees by asserting that pro-Germans, "unbelievers" and opponents of antisepsis have been allowed to hold chairs in the University; but he ignores the fact that one may with impunity deny God, antisepsis and the rights of small nations if only one's views are "correct" upon inheritance taxes and public service corporations. Surely the Trustees, who are in the main wealthy, successful, well-intentioned and ill-advised gentlemen, engaged in the ungrateful task of soliciting funds from other wealthy and successful gentlemen, are the very last persons in the world to pass either upon the matter or the manner of professional utterances. If the

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Trustees had postponed action upon the Nearing case until his colleagues in the Faculty had requested or at least sanctioned his expulsion, they would not to-day be found in their present tragically ridiculous plight, in which every defense is a new indictment.

LABOR representatives in session at Albany have decided by a unanimous vote to oppose the revised New York State constitution. "Our principal objections to it," says James P. Holland, President of the Executive Council of the State Federation of Labor, "are the short ballot and the executive budget proposals, and the failure to include in the bill of rights a provision definitely declaring that no citizen shall be subject to military courts while civil courts are open." Thus in two instances out of three labor is opposed to the new constitution because of its most conspicuous merits. After the performances of the military tribunals of West Virginia they have a good superficial case in favor of a more explicit subordination of the military to the civil power, but when will the labor leaders learn that in seeking a legalistic remedy for political grievances they are playing into the hands of their enemies? These legal safeguards will always be evaded, in case public officials supported by a sufficient body of public opinion consider their evasion really important. Has the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech been of any value to the labor agitators in Paterson? Did the civil courts behave very much better than military courts, when it came to providing justice for the Chicago anarchists? As long as labor attempts to secure its ends by constitutional prohibitions, instead of by the machinery of ordinary legislation and administration, just so long will it remain in the event of a real crisis practically impotent. Legalism was invented in the interest of property-owners, not of wage-earners.

CONSIDERING that the country is passing through what is supposed to be a period of reaction, the issues and the candidates submitted to the voters of Massachusetts at the fall election have assumed an unexpectedly progressive aspect. Much of the local Progressive party has indeed been swallowed up by the Republicans; but the Republican candidate, Mr. Samuel W. McCall, and the Republican platform have between them taken over a large part of the Progressive program too. Mr. McCall is pledged in favor of a non-partisan constitution convention, a short ballot, an executive budget, biennial in place of the present annual elections, administrative reorganization, vocational education, "reasonable" hours for labor, and insurance against unemployment, sickness, and old age. The only important part of the old Progressive program omitted is the division advocating direct government and the recall of judicial decisions. This omission is partly supplied by the Democrats. They favor a non-partisan constitutional convention, an executive budget, the abolition of the executive council, administrative reorganization under executive control, a system of non-contributory old-age pensions, and the extension of free popular education. In addition the Democrats demand direct government, prison reorganization and a number of minor economic improvements. Never have the conventions of the two dominant parties in any state offered a more abundant and varied assortment of political and social reforms to the voters; and the two candidates, Mr. McCall and the present Governor, Mr. Walsh, are both men of unusual ability and good faith. No matter who is elected, the next session of the Massachusetts legislature should be of exceptional importance to those who are interested in political reconstruction and a social program. Both parties will be pledged to a policy of state legislation which five years ago would have been considered dangerously radical and which five years hence will look extremely tentative and timid.

MAYOR ROLPH'S reëlection at the San Francisco primary is somewhat less interesting than the fact that the notorious Eugene E. Schmitz received nearly one third of the votes cast. The shocking exposures of the "graft prosecution," Mayor Schmitz' narrow escape from conviction, and the heavy sentence imposed upon his confederate, Abraham Ruef, are all matters of the last decade. Yet in the very teeth of this crime and corruption a powerful body of opinion is found voting in its favor. The fact is that none of the three candidates' votes can be understood except in terms of the other two. People voted for Mr. Rolph because his rather colorless administration attached to itself no particular stigma, Schmitz was impossible, and Mr. Gallagher had become too deeply involved in the mysterious rifts and bickerings of his own Union Labor Party. Mr. Gallagher's cause, indeed, was always hopeless: he had to deal not only with the reactionary Schmitz faction of the labor group, but the insurgents who supported James Rolph, Jr., rather than the party nominee. Schmitz, on the other hand, controlled the tenderloin and certain remnants of the old Union Labor Party machine. But it was his large straggling of staunch personal followers that made his strength really formidable. And here lies the greatest significance of the election: to thousands of wage earners and small householders of the Mission district—which is a far remove from the tenderloin—Schmitz represented

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loyalty and leadership. Schmitz was the only candidate who managed to identify himself with the emotional longings of his supporters. His was the only power based on intimacy. It was a specious intimacy, to be sure, and a false hope. But until truly democratic leaders learn to cast a social aspiration in the mould of positive appeal, we shall continue to have people shouting themselves hoarse on election eve for some Schmitz or other.

THE moving picture has provided an appropriate medium for Messrs. Maxim and Blackton in their propaganda for preparedness. "A Battle Cry of Peace" is forcible, to say the least. But there is something in this film which makes decent people recoil from it. Many are willing to conceive that defencelessness may lead to the destruction of New York, the trampling of peace and prosperity underfoot, the murder of non-combatants, the rape of American women. But they are loath to indorse the method by which the authors seek to gain converts. That method is the most artful provocation of fear. "The clumsiness and uncertainty of Fear," says Graham Wallas, "its imperfect adaptation even to the environment of aboriginal life, and its constant irrelevance to the environment of civilization, make it, of all human dispositions, the least suitable as a general basis for modern government and education." Such distrust of fear as a ruling impulse is increased by viewing "A Battle Cry of Peace." The appeal is nauseating without being properly effective. It fails of its own violence, like an overdose of poison.

The Plattsburg Idea

THE two thousand American citizens of one kind or another who have been undergoing military training at Plattsburg have been sharing a lively and a liberating experience. Without actually making war, without risking their own lives or taking the lives of other people, they have felt some of the excitement, confronted some of the realities and suffered some of the pains of military service. The routine of their life in camp has been sharply distinguished from the routine of their ordinary lives. They have been snatched out of their habitual round of work, amusement, sport, meals and sleep, and subjected to a more laborious and disagreeable but also a more absorbing and appetizing schedule. They have arisen almost with the dawn, have been uninterruptedly occupied with tedious or exhausting physical work, have eaten what they could get, and have slept blissfully six together under one shelter on hard beds. They have pitched their own tents, washed their own dishes, shared in the preparation of their own food, disposed of their own refuse and have allowed other people to dictate their behavior. Their object in submitting to an irksome and laborious discipline was not that of adding an interesting and novel episode to their own lives, but of performing what they believed to be an all-important patriotic service. They submitted to a common discipline because they were sustained by a common conviction.

They have gone to Plattsburg primarily, of course, to receive the rudiments of a soldier's training, but from the beginning Plattsburg has been in the minds of some of its adherents very much more than an ordinary camp. It has been a school in citizenship and an object lesson to the whole nation. In the words of Mr. Grenville Clark, to whom much of the credit for the initiation of the enterprise is due, their purpose was "to take a step towards providing a permanent, sane, and sound military system for the United States." "We believe," said Mr. Clark, in a speech made during the encampment, "that such a system must strive to give to the whole body of citizens some measure of acquaintance with modern arms and military methods." And he added that the desirable kind of military training should be conceived not merely as "a means of obtaining security against external enemies, but of strengthening the United States against internal forces making for weakness and lack of national unity." So far from being undemocratic an adequate system of military instruction might very well be "the very salvation of our democracy." Thus Mr. Clark and many of his associates have come to conceive the Plattsburg camp as beyond and above everything a training ground for American citizenship. The recruits freely offered to subordinate their individual comforts, interests and purposes to those of the nation. They were required to behave rather as members of a community than separate individuals. Is there anything, the Plattsburg associates ask, that the body of American citizens needs more than a discipline of this kind? Is there anything which would do the ordinary American more good than an actual participation in a well ordered community life?

The obvious retort that an army constitutes the very type of an undemocratic and attenuated community is based upon a misunderstanding of the Plattsburg idea. The associates of the camp do not propose to militarize the American nation. They seek rather to civilize the American military system. They do not propose to turn citizens into mere military automatons. They seek rather to attach soldiering to citizenship; and they seek to do it in such a way as to make the soldier really a civilian. This training as a soldier would be only a minor episode in a life devoted for the most part to civilian occupations; but it would be a peculiarly

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stirring and illuminating episode. He would be compelled for a short time to abandon his own habits and comforts, and to submit to both moral and physical discipline. The physical discipline would consist of a very varied assortment of tedious, difficult and fatiguing labor, carried on for the most part in the open air, and much more beneficial to bodily health than any amount of mere exercise. The moral discipline would consist of unquestioning obedience to the commands of officers, who were the chiefs of the military machine. But this subordination would not be servile. The citizen soldier would obey the order because it was the embodiment of a purpose and was used as part of a system, to which as a civilian he had given his consent. He obeyed because the community might not be able to survive without military service on the part of its citizens. His individual life was so much wrapped up in the life of the community that in submitting willingly to the irksome self-subordination he was adding to the dignity and to the momentum of his own personality.

Such in brief is the Plattsburg idea—as it has been conceived by some of the thoughtful of the recruits. It is not superficially a revolutionary idea; but it would be revolutionary in case it were understood to mean, as it apparently does, universal and compulsory military service for other than strictly military reasons. The training of all the able-bodied male American citizens according to Swiss or Australian methods can hardly be advocated as an immediately justifiable measure of national defence. There is no need for so large an army. It is advocated as a promising disciplinary precaution against the tendency to internal dissension and the lack on the part of elements of American society of an enlightened and sufficient sense of obligation to the whole nation. Democracy, they say, has been associated too much with having one's own way. Its besetting danger is irresponsible, factious and aggressively selfish behavior on the part of individuals, classes, localities, and all kinds of special interests. From the beginning the problem of American domestic statesmanship has been that of organizing and controlling these unruly forces—of subordinating them to the dictates of a collective policy or plan. Of late years the difficulty of the problem has been enormously increased because of the huge resources which science, invention, the accumulation of capital, and more efficient methods of administration have placed at the disposal of refractory, inconsiderate and partial class interests. If liberty still depends on union, the union must be made very much more complete than in the days of Daniel Webster. There is a real danger of national disintegration which can be counteracted only by an equally powerful and a more authoritative organization of the American people into an indivisible political and social body.

Tendencies towards national disintegration are, we believe, sufficiently prevalent to justify both a more efficient and authoritative national organization than formerly, and a more emphatically collective social and industrial policy. We can very well understand, also, that the training of every male citizen as a soldier, according to the Australian or Swiss methods, might be physically and morally beneficial to the vast majority of the recruits. It would strengthen their personal fibre and train them in concerted action and in the ability to resist oppression. But there still remains a grave difficulty connected with the universal and compulsory aspect of the proposed training. If the proposal were put forward, as in Australia and Switzerland, merely as a measure of military defense, it would be accepted or rejected for military reasons, and if accepted would become part of a merely military system; but unless we misinterpret the Plattsburg idea the soldierly discipline is advocated chiefly as a measure of social hygiene—as a means of getting men to live for a while exclusively as national servants. The purpose is to assure to the body politic the benefits of disinterested service. If this kind of service has become justified as a matter of national moral economy, there is no reason why it should be confined to the work of military preparation. Assuming that the prevailing tendencies towards faction and disintegration are threatening and that some kind of universal training is necessary as an effective disciplinary precaution, such training might be industrial and technical as well as military. It might be used, according to the suggestion of William James, to distribute over the whole community the burden of its most irksome labor and so provide a moral equivalent for war.

That the social and industrial organization of the future will be in some measure collectivist and will involve compulsory training of some kind are not necessarily either terrifying or alarming predictions; but the advocates of disciplinary national service should bear in mind its inevitable corollary. The nation which demands a return in service from all of its citizens must be a nation whose economy is planned in the interest of all of its citizens. The nation which proposes to exercise so much authority over its citizens must be a nation in which the exercise of political authority is subjected to complete and sensitive popular control. The compulsory discipline must be only an incidental aspect of an organization which is essentially voluntary and coöperative both in method and spirit. Men who agitate for military training as a matter of desirable national discipline without at

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the same time working for an industrial reorganization which will give a meaning and sanction to the patriotism of the wage-earning class, are making the same mistake as the English conscriptionists. They are asking obligatory national service of people whose interests have never been sufficiently considered in the national organization. They will not secure such service until they have made the nation as precious to the wage-earner as to the property holders by giving opportunity, security, and dignity to the business of labor.

The Rockefeller Plan in Colorado

THE miners employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company have been offered what is called an "Industrial Representation Plan." It provides that the workers shall elect annually men chosen from amongst themselves to represent them. There is to be one delegate for every hundred and fifty wage-earners, but each camp is to have at least two representatives. The balloting is to be secret, and conducted by the employees themselves, though the appeal in a disputed election lies to the management of the company. At the meetings where the elections are held the men are to have the opportunity of airing grievances and offering advice and instructions to their representatives. To qualify as a voter a man must have been employed for at least three months.

The mining camps are classified in five districts—the Trinidad, the Walsenburg and so on. At the call of the president of the company the elected representatives of the workers are to meet an equal number of representatives appointed by the company management. These district conferences, presided over by the president or his appointee, select a number of joint committees of six men. There are to be committees on Industrial Coöperation and Conciliation; on Safety and Accidents; on Sanitation, Health and Housing; on Recreation and Education. These joint committees are to be available at any time for consultation with the management. They have also the power of raising questions within their jurisdiction. But the committee on Industrial Coöperation and Conciliation may take up "any matter pertaining to the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, terms and conditions of employment, maintenance of order and discipline in the several camps, company stores, etc., etc." The etc., etc., is quoted. In addition to the district conference there is to be an annual conference of all the delegates and officers.

This elaborate machinery has at least the primary merit of establishing some communication between the men and the officers—and judged by conditions which existed before the strike, this is a considerable advance. Under it the management will learn much that it should hear, will be able to avoid many blunders and smooth out many petty wrinkles. If peace is the object, the plan will no doubt further it a little by ventilating some difficulties and allaying certain causes of friction.

But there should be no self-deception about the scheme. It does not establish representation nor provide for collective bargaining. The fact that the men have to choose their delegates from the employees of the company is a death blow at any genuine representation. For it means that the miner who is unfortunate enough to be elected has to represent his constituents at the risk of his job. And no good intentions of Mr. Rockefeller's can alter the fact that a miner in an obscure Colorado camp is at the mercy of foremen and mine superintendents. To ask him to fight the cause of his fellow-workers, when that cause will carry him into conflict with the men who control his employment, is to destroy at its roots the possibility of real representation. It is like asking Mr. Rockefeller to trust his interests in the hands of a lawyer employed by Mr. Frank Walsh.

The first requirement of any representative government is the safety and independence of the representative. That is why we provide, for example, that no Congressman can be held legally responsible for what he says on the floor of the House. But this plan for Colorado virtually gives the opponents whom the men's representative has to deal with a power of industrial life and death over him. To be sure there is Article 18, Section III, which provides for some protection. If the representative feels discrimination he may appeal to the joint committee of the district and from that to the Industrial Commission of the State of Colorado. In practice, however, this would amount to very little protection, for the possibilities of discrimination are endless. A troublesome representative can and will be made to suffer.

Without genuine representation there can be no collective bargaining. The men have no one free to fight their case for them. In addition, the plan provides against any really powerful collective action. Article 3, Section III, states that

> There shall be no discrimination by the company or by any of its employees on account of membership or non-membership in any society, fraternity, or union.

In other words, the old-fashioned open shop. Article 4, Section III, which follows this declaration, contains the core of the whole matter:

> The right to hire and discharge, the management of the properties, and the direction of the working forces, shall be vested exclusively in the company, and except as expressly restricted, this right shall not be abridged by anything contained herein.

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It is the charter of absolutism, and in the face of it any talk of "industrial representation" is a mockery. The company retains every essential of its old mastery, and the only difference is that it has been frightened into a willingness to listen to advice. No doubt Mr. Rockefeller means to use his absolute power in somewhat more enlightened fashion. But his power is supreme and unquestioned, and whatever is done will be an act of grace or of prudence. The men remain helpless. Split into small groups in distant gullies, represented by men as helpless as themselves, how in the name of sanity are they to bargain with the power of Rockefeller?

We can understand why a local manufacturer might fear to deal with a national union, but what excuse Mr. Rockefeller has for refusing we cannot see. His wealth is organized on a national scale, he employs experts to represent him, but he insists that miners in Colorado shall face his vast power organized by constituencies no larger than a mining camp. Against his power of discharge, what equivalent have they? None but the strike, and for that funds, leaders, and more organization are required. The district conferences have none of those essentials of industrial power. Whether Mr. Rockefeller intended it or not, his plan is based on the principle of first dividing the men and then ruling them.

The proposal is being submitted to a referendum of the men. We hope they will see their own interests clearly enough to reject it.

Immigration After the War

OUR immigration problem is in the main a problem of numbers. If a mere hundred thousand arrived each year, we could pour them into our cities and country districts, and not note the effect upon the hundred millions. To absorb a million annually, however, is a task of quite a different nature. It is the enormous numbers of the immigrant that retards assimilation and puts an ever increasing tension upon our political and economic institutions. Especially is this true in the present transitional period, when the nation is trying to learn new lessons and to adjust itself to painfully difficult situations, which have come upon us suddenly.

In our pleasant optimistic way we have always believed that this immigration problem, if let alone, would solve itself. This has been our customary American attitude towards most problems, representing, as it did, a maximum of cheerful confidence and a minimum of serious thought. We had innumerable easy remedies. For the immigrants, whether they came in hundreds of thousands or millions, there was always room in that vague empty store-house, the West. Our expanding industries would always provide more and better places for the poor adventurers from Europe. Moreover, the immigrants would eventually cease to come. Ireland, England, Germany and Scandinavia sent fewer than before, and in the end the flow of men would dry up at its source. As wages in Europe rose there would be no temptation for steadily employed wage-earners to start life anew in America.

This satisfying hypothesis of a lessening immigration has gained many adherents since the outbreak of war. Immigration has fallen off enormously. In 1915 there were but 326,700 newcomers as compared with 1,218,480, or over four times as many, in 1914. During the months of August, November and December, 1914, and January, 1915, emigration actually exceeded immigration. It is even contended that these unusual conditions will persist after the war. The workers who otherwise might have migrated to America are being killed in battle. Moreover, when peace is declared Europe will have to be rebuilt, and those who would have filled the emigrant ships will be digging roads, repairing railways, restoring cities and taking the places on farms and in factories of the millions of soldiers, killed or maimed. Wages in Europe will rise as the demand for labor increases, and instead of an excess of immigration we may actually find that the immigrants who return to Europe will outnumber those who arrive. If migration is being shut off in Europe why erect barriers in America?

Unfortunately this automatic solving of our immigration difficulties is far from probable. Though dead men do not emigrate and maimed men who are incapacitated for self-support would be debarred, still the supply of able-bodied men and women, willing to emigrate and admissible under our present laws, has not appreciably diminished. The losses to the industrial population of the emigrating countries have been far less than the casualty lists suggest. After the war prisoners will be returned, while among the wounded the vast majority can be used in industry even though no longer available for warfare. The losses, though great, shrink when compared with the huge populations which furnish us our immigrants. Before the war Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey had a combined population of almost three hundred millions, and it is safe to predict that their joint population will be considerably greater a few months after the conclusion of peace. Italy's population, despite its huge emigration, grows continuously, and despite its emigration the Russian population increases by about two millions a year. We have only begun to touch the vast reservoirs of men in the Balkans, in Asiatic Turkey, in Persia.

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Unless all the populations of Europe and Western Asia are absorbed in rapidly expanding national industries, there will be millions of men to spare for American factories.

Such an immediate expansion of European industry, moreover, is not to be expected. The loss to capital in this way has been larger in proportion to the total capital of the countries than the loss of men to the total population. Much of this loss must be repaired before employment is again normal. The war has disorganized commerce and deflected international industry. Take Germany, for instance. After the war the foreign markets, which the Germans have so intelligently cultivated, will for a time be lost. The trade with South America, with the Orient, and with the nations with whom Germany has been at war, has been destroyed, and new banking, shipping and general commercial relations can only slowly be reëstablished. In the meantime the armies must be disbanded and both Germany and other countries must manage to reabsorb these millions into a crippled industry.

The economic transition from a peace to a war basis in the fall of 1914 was not affected without widespread unemployment and immense losses, and the return movement from a war to a peace economy will be even more difficult and costly. Industry can be readily contracted so as to disgorge a few million workers, but it cannot always be rapidly extended so as to employ a few million men more. A similar problem, it is true, was solved by the Northern states in 1865, but in those days we had a vast unoccupied territory and our industrial organization was simpler and less sensitive than that of Germany or of Great Britain to-day. The jobs of the men on the firing line have long since been filled; before industry reabsorbs these men a long period of unemployment is likely to supervene. Many soldiers will never be reëmployed at all. They have lost their habitual acquiescence in the drudgery and monotony of continuous labor, and if they get new places will not hold them. The burden of the great struggle that has passed will weigh heavily upon the whole population. Taxes will be high, and the resulting rigid economy will still further limit industrial expansion. Though prediction is especially unsafe after the unpredictable events of this war, it seems highly probable that in all the belligerent countries, real wages will be low, the cost of living high, unemployment widespread and industrial discontent universal. An economic and moral pressure will drive men westward.

In the ravaged districts, and in those communities which will have passed under the rule of a hostile nation, the temptation to emigrate will be even greater. Men who have lost their farms and businesses, who have had their entire economic life disrupted, are of the very stuff of which emigrants are made, and the men of races which have been conquered will seek to escape from the alien rule by taking ship for America. A large proportion, perhaps even a majority, of our immigrants, already come from races thus subjected. Our immigrants from Russia are not Russians but Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, Germans, Finns and Letts. From Austria we receive Poles, Bohemians, Jews and Slovenians; from Turkey—as it was until 1912—there come to us Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Jews and Armenians. However the cards are shuffled in the final peace negotiations, however many the racial problems settled, new races are likely to be oppressed, and the flood of immigration due to general economic pressure and the complete destruction of the industrial life of millions will be swollen as a result of racial oppressions and racial hatreds exacerbated by this war.

Whatever we do to meet this flood, whether we dam it, deflect it or break it into smaller streams, we must at least face the real facts of the situation as it is likely to develop. It is not to be doubted that a large immigration suddenly poured upon us would have an evil effect upon all our social and industrial problems, upon pauperism, child labor, woman labor, low wages, long hours, industrial accidents and diseases, slums, sweating, the scrapping of older workmen, the dissolution of trade unions. It is not to be doubted that economic pressure in Europe means increased emigration to America. When the war closes, therefore, America is likely to face a new complication of our already perplexingly complicated problems and to be forced to essay a greater assimilation of aliens than ever at a moment when we should be working upon urgent problems of national reorganization.

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Russia in Transition

VERY slowly and by devious channels the news of the momentous internal happenings in Russia has filtered through to the West. These outspoken debates in the Duma, this coming together of widely sundered parties to back a popular demand, the impressive congresses at Moscow and Petrograd and the ferment among the working class—all this news, as we piece it together, seems strangely like an echo from the happenings of ten years ago. Mr. Wells once wrote an ingenious novel about a " time machine " which could reverse or accelerate the march of events. It has seemed in recent weeks as if its machinery had somehow become dislocated, and it was playing over again the old-fashioned tunes of 1905. Then as now reverses in war had shaken the supreme bureaucracy, and then as now the Russian people discovered in defeat a will and an insight which it has rarely shown in prosperity. There is, however, one fundamental difference between 1905 and 1916. Then the disastrous war was over, for the reform movement reached its climax only after the peace with Japan. To-day the war is still in full career, and the demand for great internal changes has overtaken the bureaucracy, while the enemy is still advancing over Russian soil.

It might seem at a first glance that these conditions were less favorable to reform than those of a decade ago. What leisure, it may be said, can anyone have for internal politics while the whole fate of the Empire turns on the preservation of the national unity, the reconstruction of the army and the supply of ammunitions? But this objection misses the main point of the present movement. It is what the old revolutionary movement was not, an essentially patriotic movement. In 1905 the leadership had fallen to groups which stood dangerously in advance of the average national sentiment. They were critics, theorists, " intellectuals," internationalists, and they had watched the disasters in Manchuria without an affectation of regret. To-day the chief object of the reformers is victory. They are a middle and upper-class coalition. They profess and feel an intense Russian patriotism. They aim at an early triumph in the field, and they desire not only the conquest of Constantinople, but the permanent exclusion of German competition in the Russian markets. Theirs are neither eccentric nor exceptionally advanced opinions. If they are urgent, even in this hour of danger, for internal changes, it is because they distrust the ability of the bureaucratic caste in general, and the present ministry in particular, to lead the nation to victory.

When they ask for a ministry composed of men whom the people can trust, they mean several definite things. They mean men who cannot be suspected of an intention to compound with the enemy or conclude a separate peace. They mean men who stand high above the ugly rumors of corruption that circle round the name of a recently dismissed minister. They mean also—and this is the most hopeful tendency in their movements—men who will not divide the nation in the hour of crisis by persecuting Jews and Socialists or by tightening the screws of the official press which stamps out the individuality of non-Russian races. The keynote of the present movement was struck by the Octobrist leader in a recent Duma debate. Conservative though he is, he boldly asked why in all her recent wars, from the Crimean down to the Grand Duke's campaign, Russia has never been adequately prepared and has always had to face reverses. He answered his own question with the bold reply, " Because Russia has never known how to choose her rulers." The supreme test of war has once more revealed the incompetence of the bureaucracy. Russia demands a popular government and demands it now, because she doubts the ability of a discredited system to win victory.

There is another great advantage which the reformers of to-day enjoy over the men of 1905. They went to work amid peace. The national horizon was clear, and the whole vast field of reconstruction lay open. Time had uncovered the magnitude of the problem, and a year of open agitation had allowed the formulation of multitudinous demands. Every class had its program. The landowners, meeting in the Zemstvo congresses, had put forward their claims to representative government. In the depths of the provinces the peasants were burning farms, and in the towns the proletariat had discovered its power and used it in a general strike. The " Cadets " (Constitutional Democrats) who led the first Duma were a western Radical party, and from principle as well as from strategy, they adopted a sweeping economic program in addition to their political claims. They felt behind them the pressure of the Socialists and the peasants, and without waiting to make the constitution secure, they tabled their big scheme for the breaking-up of landed estates. The results were disastrous. A class-cleavage, destined to widen as the months went on, at once declared itself. The Constitutional Conservatives (Octobrists) fell away from the Liberals (Cadets), and rallied against their will to the bureaucracy. When at length the choice came be-

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tween revolution and reaction, the decisive fact was that the army, officered by the landowning class, supported the government and joined with goodwill in the work of repression.

There is no risk of a repetition of this mistake to-day. War narrows the field of possible change. You may amid war substitute a popular for a reactionary ministry. You may amid war cancel or suspend the persecution of the press, of the Jews, of the Socialists or of non-Russian races. You may reassure the Finns and proclaim a general amnesty. But you cannot amid war sit down to frame an elaborate and permanent constitution, and still less can you undertake a big program of agrarian reform. Just because the scope of any changes which are possible to-day is limited, the outlook for the present reform movement is incomparably more hopeful than ever the prospect was ten years ago. The changes must be confined to the indispensable minimum, and over that minimum there is a chance that all the moderate parties of the Duma may remain in agreement. If the great change comes, it will not be, as that of 1905 so nearly was, a Slav version of the French Revolution, for it will involve neither social upheaval nor economic reconstruction. But it may be a Whig revolution, a 1688 rather than 1789. When one recollects that three-fourths of the Russian nation is still illiterate and that the Empire is a half-welded mass composed of peoples in a dozen divers stages of civilization, it will be miracle enough if the bare elements of civic freedom can be won.

The factors that make for hope are strong, and some change there has been already. The change in the high command is said to have been due rather to political than to military motives. There has been some exaggeration as to the brilliance of the Grand Duke's retreats. But if he is not a soldier of genius, he is competent and steadfast and honest. I have been assured on very high authority that the real reason for his removal was that he represented the old-world conservative orthodoxy of Russia in its most respectable form. Throughout this reign, in peace as in war, he has been the stalwart pillar of the autocracy, the senior and the moral head of the Romanoff family, and his transference to the Caucasus was at first interpreted as a dramatic breach with the Tsar's political past. The demand, discreetly but firmly made, by the national coalition for a change in the command was due to two considerations. In the first place the generalissimo is in time of war not merely a leader of armies but a nearly omnipotent dictator even in civil affairs. In the second place, if conflict should come either now or after the war, it is all important that the control of the army should not be in reactionary hands. The reformers believed that they had secured a guarantee for the future in the fact that both General Polivanoff, the War Minister, and General Alexeieff, the Chief of the Staff, are in some sense of the word liberals.

The puzzle of the distant observer is to understand why a movement which seemed to have gone so far should have gone no further. The chief public demand of the united Duma groups was for a national ministry of defence, composed of men whom the nation could trust. The first answer to this demand was a long delay, and the ominous delay was followed by the prorogation of the Duma and the confirmation of the negative obstructive M. Goremeken in power. It is easy to understand why the bureaucracy should refuse to make way for the politicians. If it steps down now it will never recover its old standing. There might not be in form any admission of the principle that the ministry is responsible to the Duma, but none the less if a cabinet of parliamentarians were formed to-day, or even if M. Goremeken were dismissed at the Duma's request, a return to the unchecked bureaucratic rule of the past would be difficult. The change at the top would mean in a few weeks a change throughout the whole personnel of the administration. From the ministries to the provinces, and above all in the police, the old gang, which ruled by a sort of perpetual conspiracy, would be swept aside forever. There are many concessions which the reaction can afford to make without a vital surrender. "Politicals" may come back from Siberia, but the road to exile is still open, if the old gang retains control of the secret police and the right of administrative banishment. Concessions made to the Jews to-day may be withdrawn on the day after to-morrow. The strategy of the bureaucracy in this crisis will be to yield something in words and a little in fact, but nothing in power. It is intelligent enough to know that its prestige shaken on the battlefield is to-day at its lowest. It was for a few weeks conciliatory, apologetic, compromising. It may drop an unpopular man to-day, and yield an ornamental job to-morrow. But its instinct will be to retain the control of the machine in its own hands, even though it may not dare to guide it as it would wish. It will speculate on victory. It will reason that if reverses mean a diminution of its prestige, success will restore it. If it can play with a reform movement in the crisis of defeat, it will probably be strong enough to crush a reform movement in the hour of victory. To-day the Duma is united because it really wants a capable ministry which can defeat the Germans.

But the bureaucrats may be astute or cynical enough to question whether this unity will survive victory. We have seen miraculous conversions and incredible renunciations. Liberals and Constitu-

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tional Conservatives ("Cadets" and "Octobrists") who really are agreed on a sober minimum program, have been joined in the Duma by the so-called "Progressive Nationalists"—Count Bobrinsky's group, which used to act habitually with the "Black Hundred" Nationalists. Now it is probable that Count Bobrinsky and his friends really do desire a strong and popular ministry of defence. But do they desire equality for the Jews, liberty for the trade unions, autonomy for the Finns, and toleration for non-Russian churches and languages? They have come into the national coalition ostensibly on these terms, but compromises made in an hour of danger are rarely enduring. If the coalition fails to secure its real object, a popular ministry, it is hardly likely to hold together over these much more contentious demands.

Russia is in transition. The new boldness of the Duma meant much. It is quite likely that if we knew the whole facts about the popular ferment to which the Duma has given a sober and moderate expression, we should feel at once more hopeful and more anxious. The Tsar has followed M. Goremeken's advice, as he followed it in 1906, to resist the Duma while avoiding an open breach. It is wartime, and the Duma is a highly conservative body whose aim is to win victory and avoid revolution. It has made its quiet verbal remonstrance, but that is all it will do for the moment. The popular forces whose temper we can guess from the fact that brief strikes of protest have broken out in Petrograd remain to be reckoned with. Nothing is certain save that the Tsar is courting risks by keeping an unpopular premier in power.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

LONDON.

The Seamen's Law and World Wages

(Economics of American Shipping—II)

IN the LaFollette Seamen's law, approved by President Wilson on March 4th last, Congress has made a bold attempt to extend American legislative standards to all shipping clearing from our ports, regardless of nationality. In its most important provisions the law rejects the flag as the basis of jurisdiction, setting up instead requirements which all vessels leaving American ports must live up to. The law goes further. Certain of its provisions aimed at encouraging desertion are designed to render mobile the seafaring labor of the world, and thereby to remove not only legal disadvantages, but the economic handicap which higher wages have placed on American shipping. While the law indicates a marked departure from traditional methods, its professed objects to promote safety at sea, to improve the economic status of the seaman, and to remove handicaps from American shipping, are desirable ones. Whether it is so framed as to achieve them depends on the working out of certain economic factors whose full effect only experience can determine.

Since early times the law has exercised a special paternalism over the seaman. His contract of employment is safeguarded at every step. He can be shipped and discharged only in the presence of government officials. His wages, in admiralty law, constitute a first lien on the vessel. His food, his quarters, his treatment in case of illness or accident, his fate if stranded in a foreign port, have among all nations been the subject of legal solicitude. In return, the master has been given despotic power over the crew. Until comparatively recent times infraction of rules could be punished by flogging. If the seaman deserted, not only were all his effects and all his accrued wages forfeited, but he could be arrested and brought back to the vessel, or imprisoned for a substantial term on shore. That the Constitution forbids involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime afforded him no protection. "Indeed," said the Supreme Court in 1897, "seamen are treated by Congress, as well as by the Parliament of Great Britain, as deficient in that full and intelligent responsibility for their acts which is accredited to ordinary adults, and as needing the protection of the law in the same sense [in] which minors and wards are entitled to the protection of their guardians."

Though clothed in humanitarian dress, this policy of the law has proved a bulwark behind which foreign nations have been able to protect their low standard of wages against the higher standards of the new world. A foreign ship putting into an American port with a cheap crew could rely on legal restraints to counteract the attraction of higher wages in the coastwise and lake traffic. A seaman in a foreign vessel could take advantage of our higher standards only by forfeiting pay and belongings, and at the risk of an encounter with the law.

The heart of the Seaman's law, its most striking contribution to the theory of maritime legislation, will be found in the series of provisions in which these restraints on desertion are partially removed. Their object as frankly stated by the sponsor of the bill, the President of the International Seamen's

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Union, is to encourage desertion, to establish the "right to quit," wherever the wages of the port are at a higher level than the wages of the vessel. The law abolishes arrest and imprisonment for desertion, relics of earlier days, already abolished in the coastwise traffic, and, it should be added, seldom taken advantage of in the foreign trade because of the expense of setting the legal machinery in motion. More important, it provides that a seaman on any vessel, whether foreign or American, on arrival in any port of the United States, can demand one-half the wages then due him. If they are refused, he can recover in the federal courts all the wages then due. This supplies working capital to finance his search for a better job, and limits the forfeiture to not more than half of his wages.

Figures collected by Great Britain from her foreign consuls in 1909 show that even under existing laws there are many desertions, their frequency depending on difference between the wage level of the home country and the wage level at the port of call. In Marseilles, where wages are lower than in England, the consul naïvely reports that his own efforts have largely wiped out desertion from British vessels. Less than one seaman in a thousand left his vessel. In New York and Philadelphia, where wages are substantially higher, the ratio of desertions was two in every hundred. Along the Pacific Coast the ratio ranged from six to twelve per cent. On the other hand desertions on American vessels in foreign ports are normally less than four in a thousand. If the equalization provisions of the Seamen's law achieve their purpose, they will increase the ratio of desertions in American ports to such an extent that a vessel arriving in port with a cheap crew will be compelled to ship substantially a new set of men, at the rate of wages prevailing in the American coastwise traffic. This will give the foreign vessel a strong incentive to pay its men approximately the American wage-scale from the start, to avoid the expense and inconvenience of shipping and breaking in a new crew. The advocates of the law prophesy for it even more far-reaching effects. To meet the competition of higher wages in the American trade, it is said, vessels shipping between foreign nations, entirely beyond the jurisdiction of our laws, will have to raise their wages, so that ultimately the wage level of the whole sea-faring world will rise to the American standard.

These glowing expectations fail to take into account several countervailing circumstances. Labor has not attained such fluidity that a disturbance at one point is communicated to every corner of the globe. To all but British seamen, differences of language and race will tend to counteract the attractions of higher pay. Indeed, Oriental seamen cannot desert at all, on account of the immigration laws. Moreover, the Seamen's law cannot repeal the penalties which foreign laws place on deserters. In England, it is true, desertion from a merchant vessel is not a crime, but to most of the other maritime nations a deserting seaman could not return without fear of arrest. Again, the seaman, relatively scarce, it is true, who has a cottage and a family ashore, and who is booked on a regular journey which permits him to visit his family for a brief period every few weeks, will be under small temptation to desert. As to trade between foreign ports, it is doubtful if the effects of the bill will be appreciable. Even as to American foreign trade they are probably exaggerated. Yet when all is said there can be no doubt that to a considerable extent these provisions of the Seamen's law will achieve their purpose. If two men in a hundred in New York, and twelve in a hundred in Portland, Oregon, desert under existing restraints, the removal of some of those restraints must tend to raise the percentage of desertions. To counteract this tendency shipowners will be compelled to offer greater inducements to seamen. A higher level of wages on vessels touching at American ports will be the result.

Much has been made of the claim that these provisions are in violation of treaties with foreign nations. Technically, the claim is to a certain extent justified. Commercial or consular treaties with most of the maritime nations of the world provide for reciprocal aid in the arrest and return of deserting seamen, and confer on foreign consuls exclusive jurisdiction over disputes relating to wages and incidents of employment on national vessels. All the treaties provide for abrogation by either party, generally on six months' notice, and the Seamen's law directs the President to give notice that at the expiration of the required period all parts of treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the act shall be abrogated. In theory, portions of treaties cannot be abrogated except by mutual consent. In practice, however, partial abrogation has not been infrequent. The United States has itself several times excepted it on the part of foreign nations. As a matter of constitutional law, moreover, it is well settled that even if the treaty provisions are not formally abrogated, the act of Congress will prevail over the prior treaty. As a matter of international diplomacy it is extremely unlikely that any foreign nation will go so far as to exercise its technical right of abrogating a whole treaty on account of the act. If there are protests after the war, it may be that we must meet them by concessions in other directions. As yet, however, no nation, whether belligerent or neutral, has raised any objection.

The fact remains, however, that legislation of this type, by which one nation seeks to exercise con-

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trol over international traffic, is at best unsatisfactory. The Seamen's law is a piece of international bad manners forced upon us because foreign nations are as yet unwilling to surrender the advantage which lower wages give to their shipowners. The conflict of foreign laws will hamper the full success of its central provisions. Moreover, the law may place a burden on our export trade, by way of higher freight rates, to which the exports of competing nations are not subject. And there is always the danger that it may be made a pretext for tariff discrimination by some nation which might consider itself aggrieved. National legislation aiming at the control of international interests, necessary though it may be at the present stage of the progress of nations, must in the long run be regarded as a makeshift.

GERARD HENDERSON.

On the Mexican Border

TO understand the character of the disorders on the lower Rio Grande we must first free ourselves from the illusion that the political boundary is at the same time the boundary between the Mexican and the American civilizations. Prior to the extension of the railway to Brownsville in the early nineties the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was ethnically and socially Mexican. The land was largely held in extensive grants by a few Dons, claiming descent from the conquistadors, and worked by a sparse population of illiterate peons whose condition was very little affected by the fact of American sovereignty. There were some Gringoes at Brownsville left over from the thriving days of the Civil War period, before the doctrine of the continuous voyage put a quietus upon the contraband trade. There were others who had acquired land and entered upon cattle-raising, one of whom, Captain King, built up the most extensive landed estate in our country. Further, there were a few engaged in lawful trade, and others covertly interested in the smuggling of goods across the boundary. With due allowance for these American elements, however, the statement still holds true that this section of the United States remained essentially Mexican.

With the railway came the boomers and boosters. The rich alluvial lands that had been nothing but a waste of chapparal were cleared and put under irrigation. Reports of the marvels of this new land of promise were circulated throughout the country, especially in the Middle West, where the hunger for new opportunities for land gambling was at that time becoming keen. Trainloads of home-seekers were conveyed to the Rio Grande, and soon values were kited to one hundred, two hundred and even three hundred dollars an acre. The original Mexican owners let go their holdings early in the game and removed to San Antonio, to live on their takings and dream political dreams of Old Mexico. The peons remained to work the fields for their new masters, who could pay well but could not make themselves liked, and more peons came over the river. The extent of the movement from Old Mexico may be inferred from the census of 1910. Out of a total population of 53,000 in the five lower counties of the Rio Grande, 20,000 were of Mexican birth. The movement of population from these counties into Mexico was also known to be considerable, but its extent has never been determined statistically. And since the fall of the Diaz régime the goings and comings of Mexicans have been greatly accelerated. At present the Mexican population of these counties is certainly much greater than in 1910.

This movement of population has kept alive the organic relations between the Mexican communities on both sides of the Rio Grande. Every factional movement on one side of the river had its active supporters on the other side. Thus in the period preceding the Madero revolution there was great unrest among Mexican laborers on the American side. Secret organizations were formed, and a kind of anarchistic unionism appeared, actively supported from beyond the Rio Grande. It was inevitable that with the outbreak of the revolution in Mexico each faction should find its supporters on the American side. Among his hands a rancher might have Huertistas, Carranzistas, Villistas and what not. Of course he knew nothing about the political varieties among his men: no American rancher knows more about his Mexican help than is needful. What came to his knowledge was obscure and murderous quarrels, the slipping away of some of his men across the border, the arrival of new ones seeking peace and obscurity, emissaries collecting funds, secret meetings. It was a Mexican family affair, not needing to be understood.

Not that it would have been possible for the Gringoes to understand the ins and outs of Mexican factional life, even had they so desired. The race line in these counties, as everywhere along the border, is sharply drawn. Both races are responsible for the drawing of the line. The Mexican is as suspicious of the Gringo as the latter is contemptuous of the Greaser. Accordingly, so far as pos-

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sible the two races live apart. In the larger towns the Mexicans have their distinct quarters, with their own merchants, their fighting cocks and pigs, their own moving picture shows, and their own tuberculosis rate—the highest in the world. What is going on in these Mexican quarters in the way of intrigue is unknowable to any non-Mexican. It is difficult enough in a northern city to get light on happenings in the Italian quarter. But compared with the morose and taciturn Mexican, the Italian is open-hearted and loquacious.

The smouldering factional activity on the American side was from the beginning an inconvenience; to alarmists it seemed to require drastic action on the part of the United States, even extending to the pacification of the adjacent Mexican territories. Undoubtedly there were some persons, in Texas and in other parts of the country, who made the most of it, hoping to bring on intervention in Mexico and thus to advance private interests of their own. The situation became really serious when about a year ago rumors got abroad of the "San Diego Plan" to massacre all the Gringoes between the Nueces and the Rio Grande and annex this territory to Mexico.

Shrewd local observers of the situation have expressed the opinion that if there ever was a "San Diego Plan" of this nature, it was invented chiefly to loosen the purse strings of the Texan Greaser, who through years had been called on to pay, with never a prospect of personal gain or a chance of satisfying his personal grudges. Whether or not the plot amounted to more than this, it is not a matter for surprise that a great many persons, especially isolated ranchers and inhabitants of small towns, were seriously disturbed. Not the least disturbed were those bona fide immigrants from the fat and peaceful Middle West who had come down to grow Bermuda onions and winter vegetables, and had never allowed the thought of massacres to enter into their calculations. The cry went up for protection, arms were laid in, vigilance committees formed, Mexicans were forbidden to carry arms and warned to keep in after nightfall, the Rangers beat up and down, through the chapparal, and soldiers were strung out along the river where their services might be expected to do the most good.

Undeniably the situation is serious, and it may easily become more serious. The pickings of the various bands on the Mexican side are becoming very thin; almost no corn was planted this year, and men with arms in their hands cannot be expected to sit still and starve while fat cattle and rich crops beckon to them from across a narrow strip of shallow water, especially when they can count upon the sympathy of the most numerous element in the population on the prosperous side of the river. Raiding is more likely to increase than to diminish. True, the Carranzista authorities are required by international law and their own ultimate interest to put a stop to the disorder if they can. But their powers are limited, and besides, they have their sympathies. Beating the Gringo customs laws has long been a legitimate industry on the Rio Grande; lifting a few Gringo cattle cannot be made to seem really criminal. Carranza would doubtless keep order on the boundary if he could, but the fact of a homogeneous population on both sides of the river, with starvation on the one side and prosperity on the other, and the further fact of an ineradicable hostility to the Gringo, make up a problem to test the capacity of a stronger chief than Carranza. Failure to solve it promptly is hardly to be accepted as final proof of the general inefficiency of the Carranza administration.

The Revised Constitution of New York

CONSIDERED from the standpoint of political science, the new constitution proposed for the state of New York appears medieval in character. That is to say, it is a scheme of partitioned authority which resembles the feudal system of the Middle Ages in that it depends for its successful operation on a concert of action among separate powers each of which may act from its own motives. There is nowhere any effective embodiment of sovereignty with its logical complement of complete responsibility. The initiative of legislation is still everybody's business and hence nobody's responsibility. Nothing in the nature of plenary authority under constitutional control exists; but there is instead a continual subordination of administrative function to the courts. This puts upon the courts functions incompatible with efficient government, however discreetly they may exercise their powers. A typical instance is the provision that when property is taken for public use, "compensation shall be paid before such taking, unless the supreme court, after hearing, because of public necessity, shall otherwise direct." Here the supreme court is made the judge of public necessity. Imagine what a plight any European state would be in now if the action of a government in the emergencies raised by the war should have to wait on the opinions of the courts as to the existence of public necessity. This brings one in sight of the cause of American backwardness in the art of government. Medievalism lingers because it is sheltered, just as in the isolated continent of Australia archaic forms of life survived that were superseded by more advanced forms in the rest of the world.

The courts are such a large administrative factor

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in the scheme of government that to tell just what the new constitution provides, one would have to know the minds of the judges and foretell their opinions. Hence it would be mere guess-work to attempt any estimate of the positive value of the home-rule provisions. Certain privileges are authorized that make for autonomy such as European cities enjoy, but these are not to be construed as restricting " the powers of the legislature to pass laws regulating matters of state concern as distinguished from matters relating to the property affairs or municipal government of cities." The significance of this depends on the content of meaning that may be imparted to it by the courts. It may be questioned whether any such distinction as the clause notes can really exist, for nothing that a municipal corporation does may not conceivably be a matter of state concern. No legal distinction of the kind exists in European jurisprudence, but municipal autonomy is arrived at by administrative arrangements and not by abridging the legislative competency of the state.

An inevitable incident of its character as a scheme of partitioned authority is the length and verbosity of the constitution. It abounds with particulars, even one so minute as authorization of a road from Saranac Lake to Old Forge. Along with such concrete details it contains a string of the pompous abstractions commonly known as bills of rights which in practice are mere legal putty. This feature of American constitutions is the hallmark of their antiquated character. The original source is the English revolution of 1688, but popular government in England has progressed so far beyond those abstractions that they have there now only a historical interest. Their retention in this country is evidence that the rule of the people is yet to be established. Only when government is not under control does it become desirable to put up barricades against it. Grandiose proclamations of abstract right abound in the constitution of Venezuela; there are none at all in the constitution of Switzerland. The mixture of juridical dogmas, legislative instructions and administrative particulars makes the new constitution a bulky document. It is about twice as long as the British North America act which supplies to the Dominion of Canada and all the Provinces their organic law, thus combining the functions of our national Constitution and all our state constitutions.

Although the new constitution, viewed abstractly as an instrument of government, is clumsy, defective and inadequate, yet when compared with the present constitution and considered with regard to the circumstances under which it was produced, it displays some notable improvements. Its bad characteristics are those which it possesses in common with American state constitutions in general. They are as a class singularly weak, corrupt and incapable. But while the changes made in the new constitution are not sufficient to lift it out of that class, modifications are introduced that tend toward a higher and a better type of government. It is true that the new principles receive a lame embodiment, but it is one that is not impotent, and it will certainly give a new and hopeful direction to the course of American constitutional development. There is no good reason for expecting that any better constitution might be obtained at the hands of any other convention that might be chosen. Conditions are such that unity of design and structural consistency are no longer attainable. When the Constitution of the United States was framed, the present American system of parceling legislative initiative among committees was unheard of. The convention of 1787 had before it from the first a complete scheme. In all the discussions that took place the entire design was in view, the phraseology of which in all its parts was in the care of one committee on style.

In these times the practice of a convention naturally conforms to established legislative usage, and the parts of the constitution are distributed among numerous committees, each formulating its particular scheme for the section in its charge. The natural consequence is to give a patchwork character to the combined result. Furthermore, the convention takes on the character of a diplomatic body, whose action is a composition of forces rather than the expression of the reason and judgment of its membership. The marks of bargain and compromise appear pretty plainly in the document as submitted to the public. No one will suppose that the framers of the budget section really desired to admit such a flaw in their proposals as the exemption of the legislative and judiciary departments from the new system, but they had to make these concessions to persuade the convention to accept the reform. The short ballot pledges made by political parties were but partially redeemed by taking two state officials out of the list of elective offices and abolishing another office. The short ballot principle will not be triumphant until elections are confined wholly to representative purposes, and all administrative posts are filled by appointment on the tenure of good behavior. Likewise in the matter of appointments to office there is evidence of a compromise between the vested interests of professional politicians and the demand for reform. The governor receives power to appoint and remove the heads of all departments and the members of all commissions in his discretion, except as otherwise provided for in the constitution, but this reservation extends to such important de-

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partments as Labor and Industry, Public Utilities, Conservation, and Civil Service. This is particularly unfortunate, for nothing so debases the character of the legislature and unfits it for the discharge of its proper constitutional functions as participation in appointments to office. The retention of the public service commissions in the field of patronage peddling is a very serious matter. Yet it should be remembered that the governor receives power on his own responsibility to select eleven department chiefs, which is a clear gain and a vast improvement over the present situation.

The innovation of greatest importance is the new budget system. That is the vital centre of every constitutional system. Budget control involves the entire character of the government, no matter what other institutions may be associated with it. It is a commonplace of history that the triumph of popular rule in England over hereditary privilege and royal prerogative has been an incident of the budget control established by the House of Commons. Every business man is aware what pervasive influence the actual financial control of a concern exerts over all its transactions. The power concentrated in the governor of initiating the general appropriations will affect even the coördinate elective offices of attorney-general and comptroller, tending to restrain them from mischievous antagonism. Although the power of subsequently originating miscellaneous appropriation bills is still reserved to the legislature, opportunities of graft in local improvements are curtailed by the provision for antecedent approval by the superintendent of public works, an official subject to the full control of the governor. Moreover, the governor retains all his former veto power over miscellaneous appropriation bills. The powers conferred on the governor seem to be sufficient for their purpose and their exercise will effect a salutary revolution. One result will be to aggrandize his influence so that it will resemble that of the President in that it will overtop any influence that a party boss can wield. The governor will be the state boss, and if he does not handle his job successfully it will be through the weakness of his character and not through defect in his office. The new budget system strikes the heaviest blow at invisible government that has yet been seen in American state politics.

The weakness of the scheme is on the legislative side. The members are still allowed the old-style legislative budget and also the power of proposing miscellaneous appropriations, so that legislative action will probably continue to be a degrading scuffle of local agency. The legislature will not be established in its proper function as an organ of control until it has been divested of all patronage and of all agency in proposing appropriations. The time has not yet come for such a thorough reform, and probably a period of constitutional boss-rule by the governor is a necessary prelude. It is a law of constitutional history that administrative authority attains a high development before the apparatus of control begins to develop. Meanwhile the new budget system is such a radical and far-reaching reform that it marks the beginning of a new era. That feature alone compensates for all the shortcomings of the new constitution and causes it to deserve popular approval.

HENRY JONES FORD.

Phyllis and Strephon

THROUGHOUT Anglo-Saxondom the marriage broker has fallen into disrepute. He has been dethroned by the marriage breaker, whose seductive advertisements leer from the columns of the daily press, holding out comfortable assurance of release from a self-imposed bondage. It is characteristic of modern humanity that it should scorn the services of an expert when about to embark upon a hazardous adventure; it is not less eloquent of the type that, after light-hearted temerity has plunged it into an abyss of domestic woe, it should appeal to the Doctor of Law to cure what the Doctor of Matrimony would have prevented.

In a fair Canadian city of the Western prairie I chanced upon a Doctor of Matrimony, or rather, I sought him out, after the morning papers had made me familiar with his diurnal appeal to the unwedded. Upon presenting myself to him I was instantly conscious of a scrutiny differing in quality from any to which, in the vicissitudes of a wandering life, I had hitherto been subjected.

His was not a glance which sought to discover whether his visitor would sell him a patent tooth-brush, demand of him a subscription, or insure his life; it was a swift but shrewd examination whose sole purpose was to determine my matrimonial qualifications. After my watch-chain, my boots, and my umbrella had told their story, he looked me in the face; and it is no small tribute to his professional skill that I was unable to form an opinion as to the kind of impression I had created. When I explained that upon the present occasion it was not my purpose to avail myself of the resources of his craft, that curiosity alone had brought me to his bureau, he accepted the situation with well-bred courtesy and professed himself entirely at my disposal.

Our conversation disclosed him as a student and a philosopher. The outward and visible sign of his excellence, the lustre which experience had imposed upon the fine substance of his nature, was a suave harmony of gesture and diction—that sum of

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attributes which is implied in the expression "a good bedside manner." His knowledge of the world was such as might be gained by an intelligent man who for a decade has received the confidence of some two thousand persons annually upon the delicate subject of their hymeneal predilections. Life was his laboratory, mankind his material, and marriage the crucible in which he fused every variety of male and female character in an effort to formulate the final equation of conjugal felicity.

From the prospectus of the Town and Country Matrimonial Agency I make the following extracts, which define the undertaking in the three dimensions of Philosophy, Sociology and Economics: "Looked at in a sensible, broad-minded way, and reasoned out by an intellect devoid of prejudice and unfettered by fine-drawn notions of delicacy, there is no conceivable reason why marriages arranged by a genuine matrimonial agency should not be as successful and as productive of lasting happiness as those brought about by the happy-go-lucky and flighty methods most in vogue. The bureau is used by large numbers of business and professional men, railroad men, farmers, fruit-growers, ranchmen, merchants, storekeepers, mechanics, and men of many other occupations, trades and calling in every part of the country; and among the lady members we have on our books are large numbers of ladies of every description, nationality and religion, and of all ages from 17 to 55. Some are of good social and financial standing, others have small means, many have education and refinement, and many others are honest, sincere ladies without means, but very often of great personal attraction. A membership fee of $5 is required from everyone before any introductions are given, and this fee entitles you to unlimited introductions until suited. On your marriage resulting through any introduction given you by us, the further sum of $12 will be required after marriage."

To my inquiries as to the methods and results of his activities Dr. Sibelius responded with the greatest frankness. Under normal conditions, he said, marriage was chiefly the consequence of propinquity; and in establishing his bureau he had founded his hopes of success upon the circumstance that in the rural districts of western Canada propinquity of the sexes was brought about only through rare chance or by happy accident.

The farmers and ranchman, for instance, whose callings swelled the ranks of his male clientage, could only present themselves at the bar of feminine judgment by undertaking long and arduous pilgrimages to those great centres of population where many ladies "have education and refinement and many others are honest." To visit in person some Mecca of the unmarried and there to burn incense before the altar of capricious spinsterhood, involved sacrifices of time inconsistent with the spirit of husbandry and repugnant to the bucolic instinct.

The female cohort, on the other hand, was, as it were, a home garrison which could not be despatched upon enterprises of conquest. Even if maidenly reserve could be brought to sanction such tactics, the open substitution of a kinetic for a static principle in feminine strategy would violate a tradition to which the centuries had given their support, and would deprive woman of her cleverly retained courtesy-title as the person pursued.

Comfortably situated between the horns of this dilemma lay the hospitable offices of the Town and Country Matrimonial Agency. By filling in a printed form, whose queries commenced with the subject of your age and ended with your attitude towards music, you disclosed to Dr. Sibelius as much of your personality as pride or prudence dictated; and at the bottom of the sheet a blank space afforded you the opportunity of describing your ideal.

I was naturally full of eagerness to discover whether the doctor had found amongst his clients any consensus of opinion as to the qualities which one sex regarded as desirable in the other; and I suggested to him that the diversity of taste exhibited by persons who initiate their own connubialities was probably reflected in his correspondence.

To my surprise he informed me that so far from this being the case, there was to be observed in the thousands of applications a remarkable uniformity of demand. The fashion of the time appeared to affect the requirements of the men. Thus the blonde and the brunette, the slender and the stout, the grave and the gay, in their eight permutations, enjoyed well-defined periods of favor; but at any given moment almost all the men sought the same general type of woman.

With the ladies, however, things were very different. At the bottom of his application form the words, "If the blank space is insufficient, you may write on the other side of the sheet," gave everyone a fair chance of minute specification. During five years he had seldom noticed that a man had failed to take advantage of the suggestion or that a woman had profited by it. In a few instances girls under twenty said something about their preference in the matter of male beauty, and within this age-group red hair was often named as a disqualifying attribute. But very few women over twenty and none over twenty-five ever expressed any interest in the appearance of their hypothetical mates. In nine cases out of ten the woman paid her five dollars to be introduced to a man whom she described in terms which, saving only the one item of wordly goods, might with equal propriety be applied to a horse or an automobile—strong, a good worker, and reli-

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able. At times a woman would insist strongly upon one particular quality in her future lord; but these carefully specified virtues and graces were almost invariably of a negative character—such as not playing the cornet, not being of a jealous disposition, not being insistent upon the keeping of household accounts. I ventured an opinion that these excluded terms suggested the widow psychology; but Dr. Sibelius assured me, not without a touch of malice, that widows never appeared to require his services.

Nothing interested me more in the doctor's narrative than his account of the prolixity of the male and the brevity of the female in their exhortations to his judgment and observation. Upon my request for an explanation he said that a man whose name he had forgotten had expressed the philosophy of the matter in the hard but true saying: "Man accepts matrimony for the sake of woman, and woman man for the sake of matrimony," and that he was convinced that in consummating marriage it was the man who paid the woman the compliment, and not the other way round, as was popularly supposed; for it was very clear that in the great majority of cases the man was in love with what he believed to be an attractive personality, and the woman was in love with what she believed to be an attractive institution.

My final query was directed towards the success or failure of the marriages arranged through the doctor's instrumentality.

"I have been the means," he said, "of placing more than four thousand people in a state of matrimony; and in one case only have I received any complaint. The only thing I could do was to refund the fees, and that I did willingly."

At this moment we were interrupted by the sudden entrance, unannounced, of an extremely pretty young woman, who blushed, apologized, and withdrew in charming confusion.

"My wife," said the doctor.

"May I be allowed to congratulate you?" said I.

"You may," he replied, "I secured her through the agency. She is the best possible proof of the soundness of our methods."

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

CORRESPONDENCE

Husbands for Most

SIR: The Anonymous Lady and her friend the Sociologist collaborate in your last issue to such gloomy purpose regarding "The Chances of Being Married," that any sweet girl graduate, after reading, would incline to stand with even more reluctant feet than usual, if indeed she felt equal to standing at all! No, I am not a flippant young man, nor do I consider matrimony woman's only goal. But I too feel impelled to say something on the subject, and do emphatically declare out of my experience and observation that the portrait drawn is most unusual and the tendency indicated exaggerated.

To be personal and accurate, I am a woman of twenty-seven, also of sound mind and body, and also of good professional stock including a governor or two. I too was graduated from a good college; we like to consider Vassar the very best. Since graduation I have spent seven years in the South, where I have been a pioneer suffragist. So far from being fashionable, the cause is still most decidedly unpopular down there. Add to this the rather dubious distinction of being considered a "highbrow"—it's still very unusual to go North to college in my section—and you have—social oblivion? Oh, no. In a town of about ninety thousand inhabitants I have had a splendid time and at least half a dozen chances to change my name.

Am I beautiful? No, only what a British critic might term "fairish-looking." Neither am I a flirt, but I am possessed of a sense of humor appropriately labeled "saving" in such a connection. Fairly stiff work in the Associated Charities and Y. W. C. A. by day, enabled me to enjoy at least two or three evenings each week under what the Sociologist labels "the dowager trust." While this machine may operate with increasing ease in a very few of our largest cities, in the South its power is practically nil, for the reason that all the big functions that "count" are held at the men's clubs by the men for the girls, and popularity it is, with always a squint at family, of course, that does the business, most decidedly. Some of the wealthiest girls have failed where those who make their own frocks and have only two at that succeed in having what is termed a good time. Besides which the numerous lawyers, doctors and business men of my acquaintance are not putty to be moulded by even a skillful campaign of propinquity. Despite Mr. G. B. Shaw's theories, they seem generally to know what they want and to go after it as ardently as income will permit. There is more than a grain of truth in Mrs. Solomon's observation that a man naturally dodges what is thrown at his head, be it brick or woman. Let's not forget, either, that ever increasing group of young men found even in our smaller cities, hardworking or indifferent to the charms of "society" so called. At many a dance I've drunk a silent toast to those stay-at-homes and work o' nights, some of whom I knew and liked, many of whom I didn't, maybe because the cruel epithet "society girl" had been applied to me. The girls who do meet these men (who are as a rule considerably more eligible than the cotillion leaders) are the self-supporting girls in offices, or school teachers, boarding perhaps at the same place. And they marry them, too.

"Perfectly irrelevant," you are sighing, with New York as ever in mind. Very well, let us shift the canvas to the Middle West city, numbering a quarter of a million, where I was born and where I often visit. There I know a goodly number of self-supporting young women blessed with matrimonial prospects; couples who must delay because of the shrinking dollar, but still *couples!*

The far West I do not know, but New York, O impatient ones, which has been my home for several months, I am studying. My circle of friends, mostly classmates,

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belongs entirely to the self-supporting group, which affords a pretty close comparison with conditions cited. So while I may feel myself the royal-none-such at home, I am, through lack of direct contact with moneyed circles here, distinctly middle class. And so even we women are much less static than the Sociologist would admit, our class being fluid and variable with locality.

But to return to the problem of the terrific disproportion between the sexes in a city like New York. What becomes, I ask you, of all those enterprising boys who pour in from the farms, but more often from the little towns these days? It is the girl of the little town who has the very poorest matrimonial chances. In a typical small town in my state I know dozens of charming girls literally drying up because, forsooth, they never even see an eligible for years on end. Following their might-have-been husbands to the city, we observe them becoming acquainted eventually (of course there's a lot of temporary loneliness in New York) with the only women with whom they have any real contact, those working in the same office, store or hospital. It has become rather an ordinary bromidiom to say that trained nurses marry in greater numbers and to greater advantage than any group. Is there anything particularly aspiring socially in marrying a nurse? If, as the article contends, it is every man's secret ambition to marry above him socially, then by common consent we must deny to the British aristocracy, who will marry Americans and chorus girls, the feelings of men—yet they do fight like men. Yes, I hold a brief for King Cophetua who still lives. No man who ever liked me but wanted to shower me with the blessings I did not possess—be it only a new book, a novel excursion, a new circle of friends, or a new idea.

Now for my college circle. Statistics, bless their musty old souls, show, I believe, that we college women, being more highly evolved than most and consequently more particular, I take it, marry less than other groups. Yet I notice that even seventy-five per cent of us marry—by the catalogues. How about that fifty per cent and over destined never to be married nor even "seriously wooed"?

Seven years after graduation from a college notably democratic I take at random a dozen classmates, all of whom are or have been economically independent, in and about New York. Of these seven are married, two engaged, and two of the remaining three could be, for I've seen the men. The twelfth has not confided to me but I propose to interview her. She never lies, either.

In conclusion it seems to me that Miss Anonymous has been most unusually unfortunate in her experience and in the type of men she encountered in business. Did she possibly subordinate her real self to her business success out of hours? Was she perhaps over-suspicious of what may have been well-intentioned albeit clumsy attempts at acquaintance by some of those men? This is not an age of stateliness, and life becomes easier as we remember "altera tempora, altera mores." Although I'm a declared feminist, may I be allowed to observe that, coming from a mellower environment, to me many of the modern self-sustaining girls seem strung to concert pitch all the time. Feeling the tremendous import of woman's struggle for achievement and their own relation to it, some of them take themselves with an awful seriousness even in leisure moments. Isn't it a pity? And oh, yes, one more observation about tendencies. The big center does gild to a frightful degree the exotic and artificial. And it's another big pity to see rather decent-looking chaps of the college breed piloting florid women of the obviously unwholesome parasite group around in taxis. A lot of middle-class husbands are squandered by this route, but a lot of others are parlous lonesome and would give almost anything to know some sympathetic and interesting girls of the independent stamp. How do I know? Because no less than half a dozen men from smaller towns, struggling and some rather successfully, too, for a foothold here, have told me that they were not associated with girls in their work and lamented the dearth of oases. In other words I believe that there are still many potential husbands with us even in New York City, a good many more than the Sociologist would allot to the middle class. No, not until some blighting curse like the European war has mowed down the rank and file of our young men will I believe in the dark disproportion described.

F. B. A., Vassar, 1908.

False Peacefulness

SIR: Mr. Jacks' curious article in the current issue of THE NEW REPUBLIC commands attention. The transvaluations which the war was expected to bring in its wake seem to be well under way. There is something pathetic in his appreciation of the great calm that has come over England. As if calm, peacefulness, unity, were in themselves virtues or goods or desiderata! What he seems to ascribe to the high moral issues which, he says, inspire and unify English thought and action, is not at all unique in this war, nor restricted to England. All war—of peoples, of course, not governments—has within it the power to inspire, to coördinate, to create a consciousness of kind, to promote efficiency, to submerge individual interests, petty ideals, in one great public service; and in this war England shares the benefits of this aspect of national conflict with France, Russia, Belgium, and Germany. That is what William James, with his characteristic fairness and clearness of vision, recognized when he searched for a "moral equivalent of war." But he searched for an equivalent! For while he admitted the virtue of war in so far as it represents service for a social cause, he also saw the ugliness of that cause. Mr. Jacks seems oblivious of this aspect. He calmly substitutes efficiency for value, and, contented, "sleeps remarkably well." Nor does he seem to be cognizant of the fatal indictment of militarism unconsciously voiced by the young officer from the front who writes: "'Up to the time I came out here I never quite felt that I was doing my proper job. But I feel it now.'"

Peacefulness of the kind that appeals to Mr. Jacks would drive our civilization straight to Hades. "I doubt," he exclaims, "if there ever was a time when in general the minds of Englishmen were so agitated as they were in the few years preceding the war"; and he winds up with a knock at the irritating and confusing work of that school of writers represented by (should we not rather say "known as"?) Bernard Shaw. But why should not the minds of England be agitated? Is not that a sign of health, a safeguard of progress? Have we, perchance, realized the millennium? And if not, what right do we have to sleep? "The Peacefulness of Being at War!" Wisely was it said that the great tragedy of slavery lies in the willingness of the slave to be one.

Let us remember that more important than getting things done is the nature of the things that are being done. Value comes before efficiency. If peacefulness must be bought at the price of barbarous achievement, let us dispense with peacefulness; if calm is secured at the cost of humanity, then, in the name of all that makes civilization worth while, let us have perpetual unrest.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

New York City.

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After the Play

IF we had a national theatre in this country "The New York Idea," by Langdon Mitchell, would before now have found a place in its repertory. Miss Grace George has done our stage a service by reviving this comedy at the Playhouse, where it glitters as brightly as when it was new, nine years ago. It is no older now. Comedy, I call the play, but Mr. Mitchell's aim was not comedy in its pure form. He aimed at the situations of farce and the spirit of comic observation. Hence his indifference to one kind of probability, hence the gay negligence with which he brings his divorced husbands and wives into the very rooms where they would be least likely to meet. No, what he cared to make us accept as probable was his abundance of wit, his happy convention of modish manners. He does make us accept them.

Hardness is the brilliant dramatist's danger. Mr. Mitchell's first act glitters and is hard. To scratch its surface you would need a diamond. Later in the play the glitter changes to a glow, a genuine feeling steals in on light feet, we are in the midst of a love story, we are a little moved, we want Cynthia, that racing amoureuse, to get what she wants, her divorced husband. But it is easy to move us, in the theatre, by a love story? No doubt, but it wasn't easy to put a love story into such a play as "The New York Idea" without cracking its surface, not easy to give to the little picture of love and the rest of the play the same comedic brightness, to envelop the whole in the same atmosphere of intellectual gaiety. Although the hardness has gone the sparkle remains.

Every painter of smart manners is in danger of seeming snobbish. Gyp, with her scorn of persons who when speaking to a countess don't know enough to call her *madame*, makes me feel that if Gyp's social position were just outside her world, instead of well inside, she would be a little in awe of the insiders. And I have casually met insiders who seemed to live in awe of themselves. Here was another danger for Mr. Mitchell to escape. He has escaped it. He seems amused by the ritual he knows how to make his characters observe. To his detached eye smart manners are just one department of manners. He treats fashion as one of the dialects of behavior. . . . Mr. Mitchell has made no changes in his play: I wish he had made one. The wedding scene, at the end of the third act, for a reason I've never been able to discover, somehow misses fire. It does not count for so much as it should, does not have the value for the spectator that it had for Mr. Mitchell. . . . Gratitude is due to Miss Grace George for reviving "The New York Idea," for playing Cynthia so well, for choosing a company that is mostly good.

Of Arthur Schnitzler's plays only three or four have been given in the United States in English. I recall "Liebelei," "Der Grüne Kakadu" and "Komtesse Mizzi." I am not certain about "Das Vermächtnis." To this we must add Granville Barker's paraphrase of "Anatol," a series of scenes between one man and different women. Since it is our national habit to neglect most of the other important living dramatists of continental Europe, we needn't be surprised at the degree to which we have neglected Schnitzler, who exacts of his translators something different from fidelity to his literal meaning, and of his actors and actresses such an ease among overtones and horizons as few can learn upon the American stage. These difficulties will be overcome, however, and Schnitzler will be given often in the United States, not long after the many scattered Americans who love him have invented a way of turning themselves into a demand-making public. A deep-soul explorer with the subtlety of a kleinmeister, an ironist revealing obscurest secrets, a profound discoverer who reports his discoveries lightly—I meet somebody who sees Schnitzler so almost as often as I meet a self-observer who has read him. Assuming that my acquaintances are good average Americans, am I not justified in guessing that he has enough admirers here, if one could only assemble them, to keep a Schnitzler play on the stage for perhaps a fortnight in every year?

Opportunities of hearing Schnitzler in German do not yet occur very often. "Das Weite Land," given at the Irving Place Theatre this week and last, is his latest play but one, coming between "Der Junge Medardus" and "Professor Bernhardi," given at the same theatre a season or two ago. A man may love a woman and also be untrue to her: you can imagine a play written to prove it with the only kind of proof possible on the stage. Where such a play would come to a stop "Das Weite Land" begins. It reveals the contradictory feelings composing a jealousy which in its manifestations is unusual. By the strange words, strange acts, strange decisions of his characters, Schnitzler makes us aware of a strangeness which is common to us all, and which without his help most of us are conscious of at moments only, only when we surprise an impulse in consciousness and drive it away. With Schnitzler's men and women, whose moral code is not ours, fewer of these impulses and feelings are driven under. More of them stay and change into speech and other deeds. This change is most momentously audible and visible in the case of a man who has not only this general Viennese freedom but also the neurotic's special freedom to follow impulses into acts against the code of his own place and time.

At the beginning of "Das Weite Land" Friedrich Hofreiter, a manufacturer nearing middle age, is incapable of admitting to himself that he loves his wife, Genia, or that he is jealous of her. Nor would he admit either of these things at any time. Are they true? Let us see. Korsakow, an intimate friend of the Hofreiters, has just committed suicide. Why? Friedrich questions Genia. Was she Korsakow's mistress? No harm can come to Korsakow now by her avowal, and of course no harm would have come to him in any case, for Friedrich's own infidelities, he admits, have left her free. She may lie if she prefers, he tells her, but at least she must answer. And at last she does answer. No, she was not Korsakow's mistress, she is sorry to say. Sorry? Friedrich catches at the word. So it is true? And Korsakow killed himself because she had broken with him? This time Genia answers by producing a letter from Korsakow, who wrote that he was going to kill himself because she would not be his mistress, because he realized that she loved not him but her husband. Friedrich questions her further. Would she have become Korsakow's mistress to save his life? If she could raise him from the dead by becoming his mistress would she do it? The scene makes one feel, though one cannot fix the suggestion upon any speech of Friedrich's, that he is sorry Genia was true to him.

A fortnight later, in the second act, it is Genia's turn to question Friedrich. Why has he so suddenly resolved to

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spend a week or two in the Dolomites? He is evasive. She insists upon knowing the meaning of his journey. Is he going *to* the Dolomites or away from *her*? Well, since she will have it, Friedrich admits that he wants to be away from her for a while. The feeling that she is trying, however unconsciously, to make Korsakow's suicide count as proof of a love of Friedrich which entitles her to something from him, the feeling that so comparatively unimportant a thing as her virtue should have caused the irreparable fact of death—these feelings have made her more alien to him than before. All this she forces him to put with such distinctness that as soon as he has said it, he tells her, it has become almost not true. Genia disagrees. She thinks it has staid true. Friedrich leaves her without knowing he has revealed his unconscious wish to have her take a lover. We spend the third act with him in the Dolomites, where he, who had not climbed for seven years, not since a friend was killed while they were alone together on a dangerous peak, renews his youth by conquering this same peak's dangers.

Neither Friedrich's nor her own simpler case is clear to Genia. She believes that his infidelities, which in her first knowledge of them gave her thoughts of suicide, flight, revenge, have become matters of something like unimportance to her. Very quietly she proposes a long absence from him, a long visit to England where their boy is at school, but when he proposes to leave for the Dolomites she is deeply disturbed. So her fidelity, her resistance, her virtue have lengthened the distance between them? Very well, she will put an end to these things. She chooses a young naval officer, Otto von Aigner, who loves her and whom she does not love, care less for, one would say, than she cared for Korsakow, and becomes his mistress. He is on the point of starting for a three-year voyage in the South Seas, and when he has gone she will tell Friedrich. When Friedrich returns we see him preoccupied, excited, more nervous and restless than ever. He has little attention to spare for the new mistress he won in the Dolomites. And the explanation is that he has found out by accident the relation of Genia to Otto, whom he insults quietly and publicly, and who challenges him. At the moment of the insult Friedrich was not bent on murder, but when they are face to face, when he sees youth itself glitter and laugh in insolent cold eyes, jealousy of youth darkens his other jealousy into hate, and he shoots Otto dead. The hatred is over then, but Genia sees Friedrich at last as she had not seen him, as malevolent in his egotism and cruel, and we realize, as she goes away to tell Otto's mother, that in her heart she has already broken with Friedrich.

Profound and illuminating as a study of Friedrich's jealousy and neurosis, perfect as a representation of Genia's state of mind, true-Schnitzler in Erna, the unafraid young woman who is Friedrich's mistress for so short a time, true-Schnitzler again in Otto's father, a subordinate and essential figure, "Das Weite Land" sounds as if Schnitzler might have written it when he was tired of hearing his people called charming. Friedrich has had many forerunners—Anatol, Stephan von Sala, Prince Egon, Georg von Wergenthin—but his nerves are more exasperated, his cruelty is malign and self-pleasing, his creator doesn't like him so well. This is surprising in a dramatist whose love of his lovers has been so faithful, though less surprising, to one accustomed to the unencumbered ease of Schnitzler's scenes, than the presence of certain clumsinesses, of a clatter of exits and entrances, of goings and comings with little motive except the author's convenience. In Schnitzler at his best those scenes which seem irrelevant from the mere understanding's point of view do give the spectator's mood the color which will change most easily into the color right for the significant moments. It is a waste of time, when the time is Schnitzler's, to create for us the atmosphere of a Dolomite hotel. Contrast there must be, of course, but in for example "Der Einsame Weg" the contrast is between Schnitzler and Schnitzler, not between Schnitzler and such common comic relief as is furnished by Paul Kreindl and by the German who cannot get his clean clothes from the laundress. Did Schnitzler really write such parts? Did he do it on purpose?

How odd to find oneself saying, à propos of a play by Schnitzler, that nearly all the cuts have been intelligently made! Yet it's true of "Das Weite Land" as given in Irving Place. One of the cuts, by the way, shows that the stage director either hasn't read Theodor Reik's wonderful book about Schnitzler (*Arthur Schnitzler als Psycholog,* J. C. C. Bruns, Minden, 1913) or else doesn't accept Reik's interpretation of the Aignerturm, the mountain scaled in the third act. Rhon, a playwright, says to Aigner, who made the first ascension twenty years before, and who has now given up climbing: "Das muss doch ein recht eigenthümliches Gefühl sein, so zu Füssen eines Turmes zu sitzen, den man als erster bestiegen hat und selbst nicht mehr in der Lage zu sein. . . . *Man könnte hier einen Vergleich wagen . . . den ich aber lieber unterlassen will.*" At the Irving Place the italicized words are not spoken. For their symbolic reference, and for other passages on which Reik throws a Freudian light, I must refer readers to his book. What he says deepens one's understanding of Schnitzler, but a remembrance of it, at the moment of seeing and hearing "Das Weite Land," gives to parts of the play an emphasis which isn't Schnitzler's own, and the result is a slight distortion. Except, I hasten to add, in the cases of Korsakow, who killed himself just after a game of billiards with Friedrich, and of Bernhaupt, killed by a mountain accident seven years ago, while he and Friedrich were climbing the Aignerturm. About the second of these deaths the most sinister rumors are afloat, and one feels that things as sinister were once rumored about Bernhaupt's fall. One death was really an accident, the other really a suicide, yet to Friedrich, as Reik explains him, both deaths have seemed fulfillments of his wishes. He cannot be certain that his wishes did not kill his two friends.

At the Irving Place Friedrich is played with fine intelligence and dexterous nerves by Arnold Korff. Friedrich's impulsive amiability, impulsive malice, impulsive irony, his abiding restlessness, his energy and his mind—Mr. Korff renders all these sharply when he chooses, and when he chooses blends one of them with another. Quite admirable acting this, worth seeing again and again by anybody interested in acting as an art, marred at the end by the violence of Mr. Korff's emotional outburst, which strikes me as not justified by his acting in earlier scenes, or by anything in the dialogue or stage directions of the printed play. Anni Rub-Foerster made me realize how stupid I'd been about Genia. Until I saw this impersonation, sincere and deeply felt, I had quite failed to understand what a solitary life Genia lives with her preoccupation—when she is most a hostess, when she is most diverted, always.

Q. K.

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Books and Things

RED at night is the shepherd's delight, but red in the morning is the shepherd's warning—I might have known that this day would close in gloom. The newspaper made breakfast rosy. Oats were steady. The coffee market had rallied. Linen was moving better. Lard and ribs were easier. But in the late afternoon I bought the *Atlantic Monthly* and thereupon came to behold the seamy side of this, our mortal adventure. A reactionary tendency, it appears, has developed in the realm of the spirit. There is a sag in culture. What, I ask, doth it import that the spring line of shirtings contains nifty features? Of what avail be it that pork is moderately active? While frivolities like these occupy the great American people, culture is slowly but hideously being extirpated from our midst. "The Extirpation of Culture" is the very legend of the composition that details our shame. As if it were a weed, a heresy, an abnormal growth, culture is being rooted out and destroyed. Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! Come, sweaty varlets, scriveners, senators, vestrymen, chirurgeons, chymists, draymen, ironmongers and suchlike! Awake to the crisis. Attend to the disgrace and peril of our state.

It is a woman, Katherine Fullerton Gerould, who appears with bitten visage from the sickbed of culture. Ordinarily she refrains from speaking of these things to the gross multitude. She "habitually says nothing to the professional optimists in the public square." But there is a time when the worst must be faced. There is a time when loins must be girt rather than cooked. And it is in this mood of chilled yet passionate reproach that our lady Agoraphobia fetches us to the shaded chamber of the culture we are doing to death. Culture, poor dear, "contact with the best that has been said and thought in the world," has had a sorry time in the vulgar jostle of modernity. Imagine a fragrant New Englander of fifty-odd, a reticule in one mitten, perhaps the odes of Sappho in the other, conscious that she is the "disciplined and finished creature," conscious that she is "intellectually exclusive," conscious also that "culture is inherently snobbish," being asked to fight her passage into a metropolitan subway. "Step lively!" The imperative jars the dear lady. She sheds a bead or two. She gingerly boards the train. On the platform there is lots of contact, but it is not precisely "contact with the best that has been said and thought in the world." Do you wonder, seeing her chaste bonnet somewhat tipsy, her lips compressed, an alarming color tinging her marmoreal cheeks, that Barrett Wendell emits a tiny squeal of pain, that Edith Wharton rolls an eye to heaven, that the shades of Pater and Matthew Arnold flutter unhappily? New England culture is laid between sheets, with nothing but the *Atlantic* for hot-water bottle.

And who is to blame for this prostration of our precious culture? Why, the gross multitude. Once culture had seclusion. The social scheme did not allow intrusive minions. "Still less would the conception of the public intellect have admitted the notion. Every one was not supposed to be congenitally qualified for intimacy with the best that has been said and thought in the world." But now, mainly due to "the increased hold of the democratic fallacy on the public mind," the slums pour forth dreadful aspirants to culture, encouraged by traitorous Brahmins; science contributes its stinking acid-stained barbarians; pragmatic philosophers take away the guardian standards of beauty and truth. The angry daughter of the Brahmins descends to slang, the expletive of the continent, in her rage at the invasion. "Science is on top." "The classics are back numbers." We are "overrun by the hordes of ignorance and materialism." Our children sip English from the founts defiled by the poor, "an active and discontented majority, with hands that pick and steal."

Belonging to the upper classes, as she confesses, this gifted prosecutor is certainly entitled to our sympathy. For conceive, she is experiencing in her degree the loneliness of God. Looking down on the inimical multitude she suffers the pangs of isolation. "I begin to think," she observes sadly, "that our age does not really care about perfection." It suggests that we groundlings have no right to peep. But since "culture must always be in the hands of an oligarchy," perhaps a voice *de profundis* might be raised to the heights. It is quite permissible, even if the monitor herself is unfortunate enough to use the German word "kultur" like an ignoramus, to be decidedly severe about the bumptious ignorance of the masses. It is quite permissible to argue that upper-class people are "apt" (no doubt she means "likely") to arrive through riches at the aesthetic truths. But a passion for exclusiveness, a belief in the restriction of cultural susceptibility to the well-nurtured, is all to no purpose if she permits outsiders to come up like flowers. The worst handicaps of the neglected culture over which she wrings her fair hands is not "the materialism of all classes," "the influx of a racially and socially inferior population," "the idolatry of science." It is its supersession by another culture to which orthodox culture has not the clue.

To prevent this rivalry there should be a most vigilant campaign against every new human expression. That is the best way to keep the oligarchy entrenched. If the ignorant foreigners, "immigrants who bring no personal traditions," come from countries of oppression, she must decline to believe that they had a literature and a culture. There is only one culture, our own. Perhaps in steerage you can evoke noises from a Lithuanian that sound like human speech. Yes, but soon that Lithuanian will have "the locutions of the slum." Beware of Lithuania. Do not pat the strange dog. He might bite a piece out of your culture. What if the young Jewess on the immigrant ship glows with assent when, without Russian or Yiddish or German, you query: Dostoevsky? Gogol? Tchekov? Lermontov? Tolstoy? Schnitzler? Sudermann? Artzibashef? Ibsen? Strindberg? It is not conversation. It is mere fraternal intercourse through modernity's names. The suppression of such names is the first great necessity of a pinhead conception of culture. And what of Poles and Spaniards and Italians and Scandinavians? What of Constantine Meunier, thrusting Walloons into culture? And H. G. Wells with his counter-jumpers and Bennett with his human inchworms, merely keeping the earth fertile, and Shaw with that dreadful winnowing fan in his head? These things must be stopped. Upstairs in the Brahmin mansion there is a delicate elderly lady, disturbed by modernity. She hates pathology and economics. She hates that science which "challenged the supereminence of religion." She honestly cared for things of the spirit, attempted no royal road to salvation. For her comfort it is required that democracy, science, industrialism, suspend their evolutions. It is a good deal to ask, perhaps, but she asks in the name of beauty and moral imagination. These, she takes it, she has loved above all others. It is not her fault if she insists with tight acidity. She hates crowds. She is confined within. She cannot take the air.

F. H.

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The Sovereign Crowd

Politics and Crowd-Morality. A Study in the Philosophy of Politics, by Arthur Christensen. Translated from the Danish by A. Cecil Curtis. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50.

IS it cowardice, traditionalism or political piety that makes men avoid accusing the sovereign? Whether the sovereign is the Son of Heaven, the Purple Emperor or the Whole People, he is always serenely impeccable. The king can do no wrong. It is against the sovereign's ministers and minions, against viziers and grand dukes and politicians that we direct our political mutinies, and if we are forced to cut off the king's head we do it with no disrespect to His Majesty. It is merely a way to save His Majesty from his evil counsellors.

Our political criticism to-day adheres in the main to this tradition. Though we insist that our politicians are noisy and ignorant, our political bosses corrupt, our Parliaments mere parleying congregations; though we attack all the agents and representatives of democracy, we still retain a childlike faith in the infinite justice and wisdom of the sovereign people. What though this wise and just people consists of men who individually are not all wise and just, who lie and cheat and slander and get drunk on Saturday night? Conceived collectively, these individuals acquire a new personality, just as a million men in hobnailed boots acquire a new personality when they are gathered together and put in uniform. The theory of the innocence of the whole people is, I admit, a good enough working hypothesis, especially as we are not at all logical in its application. But just because it is inconsistent and does obscure political thinking, we should welcome criticism. The attacks upon democracy by royalists and revolutionary syndicalists, the new attempts to analyze the political character of the sovereign people, in short, the whole mass of anti-political and anti-democratic books and pamphlets, even when overstrained and wrong-headed, have an unassailable title to existence. They compel us to justify our faith.

It is because it seeks to go to the very bottom of our political life and analyze the people as a whole, that the present book of Mr. Christensen is worthy of study. The prevailing theory of political reform is that political decisions must be brought back to the people. But it is this very people which, according to the author, is the fount of all the evil. He traces the political incapacity of Parliaments and the low political intelligence and morality of all nations to the fact that our political life is based upon the "crowd." The "sovereign people" is a crowd. Parliament itself is a crowd, comparable to the crowd that thrills with sadistical pleasure at the sight of a man fallen from a high building, or the frenzied crowd that burns a "nigger" at the stake. All the elements which enter into the creation of the crowd-soul, all the suggestions which narrow the consciousness and turn a group of individuals into a crowd with a single, low-grade mind, operate with full force in politics. The predatory instinct, the lust of power, the intense partisanship and fanaticism which form part of the crowd-mind, are the very foundation upon which political parties are built. The successful politician, says the author, is a natural-born leader and moulder of crowds. He is the master of the phrase. He knows the suggestive power of crude pathos and cruder irony, of vehement and tireless iteration, of the statement without proof, of the word which touches deep-lying mental springs. A certain type of politician might be compared to those wonderful religious suggesters of the East, half-prophet, half-charlatan, who, themselves subject to auto-suggestion, arouse huge numbers of religious suggestionees to deeds of self-sacrifice or futile cruelty. Our modern political saints are not ascetics, nor indeed mystics, but their relation to their followers, according to the author, is not unlike that of Mohammed to the Faithful or of Walter the Penniless to his hosts of illiterate Crusaders. The great acts of history are the result of this interaction between individuals and suggestive crowds. The crowd led by a suggester rules as well in democracies as in absolutist empires.

It is under our present representative system, however, that the crowd—which is intellectually at the level of its lowest members—most completely gains ascendancy. Under former representative systems the body represented was the "corporation," the gild, the craft, the cohesive group with a common professional or class interest, and this group was presumed to know and did know what it actually wanted. You could not so work on the master-drapers as to cause them to vote against the interests of their trade. To-day, however, representation is based upon a given number of ungeneralized political atoms, who chance to be found within an artificially bounded electoral district. There are next to no common interests among them; each is supposed to represent microscopically the interests of the entire nation. But because for the most part they are not anchored by concrete trade or group interests, because they are supposed to stand for large ideals which are in no sense real to them, these electors, and in their turn their representatives, tend to drift intellectually and become suggestible. The inchoate political constituency of to-day becomes inevitably the mere scattered crowd.

Our political philosophy, the author believes, works in the same direction. We speak fluently of the sovereign will of the people, and are so enamored of that phrase and live so completely within it that we never seek to grasp it philosophically. Yet this theory as formulated by Rousseau ignores the real divisions within society and conceives of the people as one and indivisible, with a single universal will as omnipotent as that of a Louis XV. The majority does not rule the minority, for both have the same will. What the majority does by the mere fact of its being the majority, is to determine what it and the minority and every individual in the community really desire. Given such a unanimity of will there can be no oppression within the community nor indeed any real compulsion. The criminal condemned to death by the people is hanged by the neck or broken on the wheel at what is in effect his own desire. Society, however, being one, politics being based upon this supposed all-complete community of interest, and the voter representing in little the entire unitary nation, the chances are increased not only for political oppression but also for widespread suggestion and the formation of political crowds.

Since political crowds, like others, are of low intelligence and improve only very slowly, we might well despair if this theory of Christensen, of which I have given a very free rendering, were literally true. We might improve our railways, airships and plumbing arrangements indefinitely; we might increase our care of the poor and our ministrations to the sick, but in the end we should still be ruled by a scattered crowd of primitive, instinctive, cruel and childish men. A savage in court dress is no whit better than a savage naked. But when we cut the leash of our theories and look at the masses of voters in countries like England, France, Germany and the United States, we

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cannot help seeing that, blundering as much of our politics is, ignorant as many of the voters are, there still remains a people capable of clumsily looking out for its own interests in politics as well as in the daily affairs of life. Even the author does not go as far as his own theories warrant. Over and over again he stumbles over his initial premise. Gradually he divests himself of the uncomfortable implications of his thesis, and ends at last upon a note of quite unwarranted optimism. Somewhere in the book he introduces "social ethics," which has the task of reforming politics and the crowd-morality, and at last we seem to have a lever by which the crowd lifts the crowd above the crowd.

As a matter of fact we need not be too depressed by Christensen's theory of the "sovereign crowd." That our political life is in part based upon suggestion, that many of our political evils are due not merely to defective political machinery but also to the crowd-like action of ignorant and irresponsible constituencies must, it seems to me, be admitted. But there are crowds and crowds, and their difference depends upon the character of their constituent individuals as well as upon the nature and variety of the suggestions to which they are subjected. After all, suggestion is a phenomenon of widely varying import, and what we call education comes as clearly under that head as does the iteration and flubdubbery of the fakir. To-day as never before the mass of men are being appealed to by a wide diversity of impulses, modifying and counteracting each other and compelling the necessity of a choice. We seem to be moving not so much toward as out of a period of crowds. There is in truth little in our modern political experience that quite exactly corresponds to the religious crowds of the Middle Ages. Fanaticism, political as well as religious, lessens in ordinary peaceful times; tolerance, which is opposed to the crowd-mentality increases. We are acquiring a measure of political independence and of political skepticism. The city voter is learning to read two newspapers instead of one, and in the course of his business and pleasure he is compelled to meet men of different minds. The age is an age of free association between men of common interests but of diverse temperaments and convictions. The "sovereign crowd" is becoming a public.

WALTER E. WEYL.

The Breton Under Arms

Dixmude: Un Chapitre de l'Histoire des Fusiliers Marins, by Charles Le Goffic. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 3 francs.

VERY little of the war literature under which library tables are groaning has come out of France, but here is a first-rate book, a book that is neither sentimental nor vainglorious, though it is written by a partisan, and deals with one of the most picturesque and bloody episodes of the past year: the defence of Dixmude (October-November, 1914) by a brigade of French Marines against a vastly superior German force. Reading it is the nearest equivalent to going through a month's hard fighting, and not as an observer, either. It fills you up as real experience does. As the author says in his preface, it is early yet to philosophize about the war. History must first be written, and the mere logical order and sequence of events is still buried under a mass of official documents, soldiers' letters, officers' note books, and newspaper romances. The men of the story which M. Le Goffic has made so lucid and so stirring were marines, and chiefly Bretons at that; therein lies its essential vigor and unity. A Breton himself, a writer of distinction on local as well as critical subjects, with a doctor son in the Brigade, he obviously had unusual opportunities for reaching and sifting facts, and felt unusual emotion about them. But even if time disproves him on minor points, "Dixmude" will be a genuine contribution to current history because it gives not only the human and geographic, but the psychological background of this heroic French "gesture." It is a document for future students of the "mystique de la guerre," "the war mysticism which will tomorrow," the Breton author significantly remarks, "be our national religion."

What gave the Brigade its power to hold Dixmude so long was simply the unusual spiritual fraternity between the troops and their commanders. Such fraternity has always been the boast of the French armies, but it was never so absolute, M. Le Goffic surmises, as with the Fusiliers Marins. The sea, especially the Breton sea, is a perpetual battlefield where a fiercely independent race learns discipline, and hardihood and coöperation in boats as narrow as the trenches. At Dixmude the Fusiliers kept the speech, the dress, the soul of their native profession. "Les demoiselles aux pompons rouges"—"the young ladies with red tassels," the Germans called them, because of the large proportion of young faces under the sailor's caps. It was a strange accident of war that made this handful of boys from eighteen to twenty who had never seen service, or even finished their training, the center of resistance to the German drive to the Channel ports, after the fall of Antwerp. The Brigade started from Paris for Antwerp itself, but at Ghent was held up by General Pau, and ordered to support the battered remnant of the Belgian army in its retreat into Flanders. "Salute these gentlemen," said the General to his staff, indicating the naval officers, "you will never see them again."

The retreat was, in fact, swift and hazardous; the officers walked beside their raw men, leaving their autos empty, and fell in front of them, "as there is only one way to teach people how to die well." But the 15th found the Fusiliers entrenching Dixmude, which they had orders to hold "coûte que coûte" while the Belgian army, except for the small contingent that prolonged the French line toward the North Sea, established itself behind the Yser. "The Admiral has anchored here," wrote a sailor, "and we shan't leave our moorings very soon, or I miss my guess." Dixmude, especially after the inundation which rendered its final capture by the Germans vain, did look rather like a ship broadside to an inland sea. As the sailors found it, the little town was "all bricks and tiles, blooming with coffee-houses and with convents, clean, mystical, sensuous, charming, especially when the rain stopped and under a clean-washed sky, behind a curtain of centenary plane-trees, its old houses, striped with ochre and apple-green, laughed above the waters of its canal." But the rain was almost constant on this more aquatic than terrestrial plain, which was crossed by innumerable canals, and exuded water—fresh water, the sailor's bête noire—at every pore. Their shovels struck it less than a yard below the clay crust.

"The part that falls to you," said Admiral Ronarc'h, a typical Breton as his name indicates, "is dangerous and solemn. Sacrifice yourselves. Try to hold out at least four days." There were 6,000 Marines and 5,000 Belgians, all told, against three German army corps. They had only small-range Belgian guns, till nearly the end, and no aeroplanes. Their trenches were hastily constructed under fire. "Yet here for nearly four weeks—at the entrance to this delta of marshes, guarded by old windmills with

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broken wings, one against six, without drawers, without stockings, in rain, in mud more cruel than the shells—they were to cling desperately to their miserable raft; bar the road to Dunkirk, save the Belgian army first, then allow our armies of the North to mass behind the Yser and scatter the enemy's attack."

Through the whole adventurous month the Breton sailor kept his humor and his intrepidity. In spite of his fondness for "le jus" he resigned himself easily to drinking brackish water. He knew that in this "campaign of frozen feet" he was doomed, for the Senegalian reënforcements were slow in coming and insufficient. But that only spurred him to support his officers with a recklessness and resourceful courage and camaraderie that proved the strength of the defence. The enemy's fire was so murderous, incessant and well-directed that many a sailor was promoted to leadership on the field. To reach the trenches, which had no telephonic connection, and were not protected by roofs or barbed wire, the relief had to crawl on all fours over the flat Flemish plain, tumbling into mud holes; and were finally "packed in the slime like sardines in their oil." "I walked three hundred meters," wrote one man who was stunned by a shell, "without realizing that I was wounded. The frères had to say to me, 'Mon Dieu, they've sliced off the half of you!' The Boches were hungry, so they took a beefsteak out of my side, but who cares so long as they didn't take the whole thing?"

Soon there was neither night nor day at Dixmude, only fire and smoke. The town was reduced to charred fragments, the beautiful church first of all. The Germans made several efforts to storm the place with infantry; and one bold night-raid; and could undoubtedly at any time have forced the French lines had not the energy of the defence deceived them as to numbers. The Belgian line along the Yser was "a perpetual Penelope's web," always bursting in a new place. Admiral Ronarc'h had to send out detachments from his diminishing reserve to coöperate with them and the French. On October 22d the Germans crossed the Yser, and began to filter in behind the French lines, but on the 25th the Belgians ordered the inundation which, it will be remembered, proved the final and most serious obstacle to the German advance. A mere lock-keeper, turning a few handles at Newport, saved the Channel ports. It is a slow business, however, to flood a Flemish plain, and before the net of creeping waters reached the outskirts of Dixmunde two more weeks of violent shell fire had reduced the Fusiliers to a point where they could no longer hold out. The spirited nucleus, fighting to the last trench, escaped to the left bank of the Yser with their guns—one group swimming across after the bridges had been blown up—when, on November 10th, the Germans finally took the place. They had lost 10,000 killed and 4,000 wounded, and found themselves masters of two blackened bridge-heads, facing a stagnant lagoon, "pierced with tree-tops and the roofs of submerged farms, and carrying on its dead waters the swollen bodies of soldiers and animals, helmets, cartridge belts, and empty meat-tins."

But M. Le Goffic's narrative should not be judged by a review. It has real literary quality, and makes one as intimate with "Jean Gouin" and his gallant officers, with their names full of consonants, as if they were characters in a Stevenson novel. After all, there is nobody like the mystical Celt to defend a forlorn hope, and make one's heart beat in the process.

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Safey First

The American College, by Isaac Sharpless. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co. 60 cents net.

A BOOK might be written about the American small college which should discuss the displacement everywhere of the old type of clergymen-president by the new efficient type of professor-administrator; the alteration of the curriculum to meet new scientific and business demands; the attempts, such as at Amherst, to give the small college a unique place in the academic world, with a function distinct from the mere college within a university; the rapidly changing social texture of the small college, with its formidable challenges to democracy; the relative qualities of Eastern colleges like Dartmouth, middle Western colleges like Knox, and the new colleges of the far West like Reed; and the interesting new rural and municipal colleges with their development of industrial and practical training. The President of Haverford College in this little book has seen fit to avoid these modern emphases. He gives us instead a wholly uncritical, very elementary and piously dull handbook of history and description. It is difficult to imagine any person who is attracted to such a book not knowing already almost everything it tells you. There is much prudent concern for the religious and moral life of the students, a perfect balancing on the question of academic freedom, and a pervading tone of conviction that new experiments in education are not necessarily bad. But the reader who looks for enlightenment or interpretation from this author, who has been President of a small college since 1887, will be disappointed.

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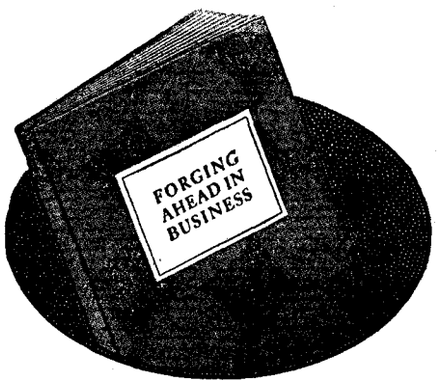

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